



J. J. 19

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

A N D

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ιεροποιίας αρχαιαὶ ιεράξεωθαι μὴ κατατίουν· τὸ αὐταῖς γὰς ιερόνοις αὐτῶν
ἀπερὶ ἔτερος συνῆκας ἐγκύπτειν.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. XV.



L O N D O N ,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON,
T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, T.
BECKET, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERRY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL,
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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

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A•N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P . LXVIII.

*The Constantinopolitan History, from the Death
of Justinian the Great to the Deposing of
Irene and the Promotion of Nicephorus.*

JUSTINIAN dying without issue, Justin, the son of his sister Vigilantia, whom, in his life-time, he had signed for his successor, was by the senate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great solemnity, by John, patriarch of Constantinople. As the people were highly displeased with the deceased emperor for abolishing the office of consul, the only mark they had left of their ancient liberty, Justin promised to restore it, and accordingly took upon him that title on the first of January of the year 566, distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people, according to the ancient custom. During his consulship, the Avari, or Abari, a Scythian nation, sent ambassadors to demand the pension formerly paid them by Justinian; but the Massagetes, who at this time began to be called Turks, and inhabited the country bordering on the Tanais to the East, pressing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the Avari, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, Justin not only refused to pay them the usual pension, but threatened to make war upon them, if they offered to disturb the peace of the empire.

Yr. of Fl.
2912.
A.D. 565.
U.C. 1312.

Justin pro-
claimed
emperor.

Restores the
office of
consul.

The Constantinopolitan History.

Yr. of Christ. 527. The courage and resolution which the emperor exhibited on this occasion, gave so great satisfaction to the people, that they began to prefer him even to Justinian, who, it is said, had, with the spoils of his own subjects, enriched the Barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But Justin soon forfeited, by his cruelty and insatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year he caused Justin his kinsman to be seized in his house, and conveyed to Alexandria, where he was, by his order, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime than his being beloved by the people. The empress Sophia, niece to the late empress Theodosia, a woman of a cruel, haughty, and suspicious temper, is thought to have promoted this, and several other bloody executions.

The Lombards in Italy. The following year is remarkable for the irruption of the Lombards into Italy, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued for two hundred years and upwards. But of their wars with Justin and his successors, till the total reduction of Italy, and of the kings of the Lombards who reigned there, from Alboin to Desiderius, taken prisoner by Charlemagne, we shall speak in a more proper place. Italy was again dismembered from the empire, and great part of it lost in the reign of Justin; but some amends were made for so great a loss by the acquisition of Perfarmenia, the inhabitants, who were cruelly persecuted by the Persians, on account of the Christian religion, which they professed, shaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of the Roman emperor, to whom they submitted, upon certain articles sworn to by both parties. Cosroes, informed of their revolt, dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, to divert the emperor from espousing their cause, contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two empires. Justin resolutely answered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and assistance to a brave nation, who, professing the same religion with himself, were on that account cruelly persecuted and oppressed. In consequence of this declaration, Cosroes, having with incredible expedition raised a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering one to march directly into Syria, under the conduct of Artabanus, while himself with the other invaded Mesopotamia. Justin, in the mean time, utterly neglecting the necessary preparations to oppose so formidable an enemy, indulged in his usual pleasures, till news were brought him that the Persians had entered his dominions. He then dispatched Martianus, captain of his guards, into

The Per-
farmenians
revolt to
the Ro-
mains.

The Per-
sians in-
vade the
Roman do-
minions.

The Constantinopolitan History.

the East, but without men, money, or arms; so that he was forced to enrol such vagabonds, thieves, and robbers, as offered themselves to him in his way. With these, however, he surprised and put to flight a small body of Persians, and, elated with that advantage, he had the confidence to sit down before Nisibis, the inhabitants, who scorned to shut their gates, insulting him from the walls, and asking him, whether he had been placed there with his men to watch sheep, or besiege the town? The emperor, nevertheless, highly incensed against him for protracting the siege, deprived him of his command, and sent one Acacius to succeed him; a step which so displeased the officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of Acacius, that they abandoned the siege, and retired into Syria.

Artabanus, having passed the Euphrates, advanced to Heraclea, which he took by assault, and laid in ashes. From Heraclea he marched to Apamea, which submitted upon terms; but was nevertheless by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of Apamea, he joined the king, who had undertaken the siege of Daras, which being now carried on with fresh vigour, the garrison was in the end obliged to submit, after having held out with great resolution and intrepidity for the space of five months. The loss of Daras, a place of the utmost importance, and the wonderful progress of the Lombards in Italy, affected the emperor to such a degree, that he was seized with a kind of madness, which rendering him altogether incapable of managing the public affairs; Tiberius, by birth a Thracian, who had discharged, with great reputation, the first employments in the state, was, by the advice and interest of the empress Sophia, with the unanimous consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. Tiberius immediately dispatched Trajan, a person highly esteemed for his wisdom and address, to Cœrœs, with a letter from the empress Sophia, wherein she acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable state of the empire, and conjured him, by all that was sacred, to forbear insulting a helpless woman, or invading a weak and defenceless state. She ended her letter by mentioning the humanity formerly shewn him by the emperor Justinian, who, upon his being seized with a dangerous malady, sent the best physicians of the empire to attend him. Cœrœs was so sensibly affected with this letter, that he immediately consented to a truce for three years.

The Persians take several places.

Justin seized with a kind of madness.

Tiberius governs in his room.

* Evagr. lib. v. cap. 7—13. Cedren. lib. iii. cap. 18. Menan. cap. 16.

The Constantinopolitan History.

Yr. of Fl. 2746. The emperor, who continued still indisposed, by the advice of the empress Sophia, raised Tiberius to the dignity of Cæsar, resigning to him the whole management of affairs, and reserving for himself the bare name of emperor.
A. D. 573.
U.C. 1320.

Tiberius declared Cæsar.
Cosrhœs invades the Roman dominions.
Is defeated, and dies of grief.

The first care of the new Cæsar was to put himself in a condition of making head against the Persians, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as soon as the truce was expired. With this view he raised a very numerous army; but at the same time endeavoured, by means of his ambassadors, to change the truce into a lasting peace, and to establish a good understanding between the two empires. Cosrhœs, deaf to all proposals, would not so much as admit the ambassadors to his presence, being bent upon recovering Persarmenia; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every where unheard-of cruelties. He was already on his march into Cappadocia, with a design to besiege Cæsarea, the metropolis of that province, when Justinian, the brother of Justin, who had been basely murdered at Alexandria, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement^b in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Cosrhœs was so grieved at his overthrow, that he fell sick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. Justinian, in the mean time, entering Persia with his victorious army, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and then returned in triumph to the Roman territories^c.

Yr. of Fl. 2930. In the following year the emperor Justin died, after having reigned sixteen years, nine months, and some days.
A. D. 583. He is described by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, so addicted to his pleasures as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the state is said to have suffered no less from his inactivity and indolence; than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predecessors^d. Upon his death Tiberius, who had for some years governed the empire with an absolute sway, was by the senate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of Augusta upon Anastasia, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme disappointment of Sophia, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a presumption that he would marry her, became his implacable enemy, when she found him married to another, and attempted to raise Justinian to the empire:

Tiberius declared emperor.

^b Evagr. lib. v. cap. 7—13. Cedren. lib. iii. cap. 18. Menand. cap. 16. ^c Agath. lib. iv. cap. 23. ^d Paul. Diacon. de Gest. Langob. lib. iii. cap. 11.

but the plot being seasonably discovered, the emperor caused all her treasures to be seized, the only punishment he inflicted upon her; and depriving Justinian of the command of the army in the East, sent Mauritius to succeed him. Mauritius was descended from an ancient Roman family, but born in Arebissus, a city of Cappadocia, had served in the army from his infancy, and was no less esteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the East, he found Hormisda, who had succeeded Cosrhoes in the kingdom of Persia, obstinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous proposals offered him by the emperor. Mauritius, therefore, having drawn together his forces, marched with incredible expedition to the confines of Persia, and falling unexpectedly upon the Persian army, commanded by the king in person, gave them a total overthrow. He took their camp, with all the royal plate and treasure, which he immediately sent to Constantinople, and made an incredible number of prisoners, who were likewise sent to the emperor, by whose orders they were richly clothed, and suffered to return to Persia, Tiberius hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation.

The Persians defeated by Mauritius.

But Hormisda, determined to pursue the war at all events, dispatched his two generals, Tamochosroes and Aduasmanes, to the borders, at the head of the most numerous army that had been seen for many years in Persia. Mauritius, however, gained a complete victory over them, dispersed their numerous forces, took several castles and towns, enriched his army with an immense booty, and made such numbers of captives, as were sufficient to people the islands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies against other nations at enmity with the empire. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection by Tiberius, who soon after gave him in marriage his daughter Constantia, and raised him to the dignity of Cæsar^f. In the mean time Hormisda, disheartened by the great losses he had sustained, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long observed, by that faithless prince. Next year the Avari or Abari, dwelling on the banks of the Danube, made a sudden irruption into Pannonia, under the conduct of their chagan or king, and made themselves masters of Sirmium. The chagan, elated with this success, dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople

He gains a second victory.

The Avari break into the empire.

to demand the annual pension, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and besides an immense sum by way of interest. Tiberius, provoked at the arrogance of the ambassadors, instead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The Avari, afraid to hazard an engagement, retired beyond the Danube, watching an opportunity of renewing their invasion of the Roman territories ⁵.

Yr. of Fl.

²⁹³⁴
A. D. 556.
U.C. 1334.

Tiberius dies.

Mauritius succeeds him.

The Persians defeated by Philippicus.

who is afterwards defeated by them.

In the course of the following year the emperor Tiberius died, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with Justin. All the ancients speak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, who proved a true father to his people. Some time before his death he had caused Mauritius to be declared emperor, in the presence of John the patriarch of Constantinople, of all the nobility, and the chief citizens, as a person the best qualified for that high station. Hormisda, king of Persia, no sooner heard of the death of Tiberius than he broke into the empire, at the head of a numerous army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with Tiberius was no longer binding. Against him the emperor dispatched John, a Thracian, who at first gained some small advantages over the enemy; but being soon after defeated, he was recalled, and Philippicus, who had married the emperor's sister, sent in his room. The new general was attended with success; for having engaged the Persians, who, encouraged by the predictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire, with great loss, to their camp. Next morning the Persians renewed the fight, but were again defeated with greater loss than they had sustained the day before. After this victory, Philippicus detached Heraclius, his lieutenant, with part of the army, ordering him to enter and lay waste the enemy's country. The Persian general, named from his office Cardariga, being informed by some deserters, that the Roman army was divided, rallied his forces; and falling in the dead of the night on Philippicus, put him to flight, and took a great number of prisoners. Heraclius, in the mean time, having passed the Tigris, laid waste the country, made himself master of several strong places, and then returned, loaded with booty, to Philippicus, who was drawing all his forces together, with a design to retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms by some remarkable exploit. But the emperor being informed of his late miscon-

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duct, ordered him to resign the command of the army to Priscus, and return to Constantinople.

Priscus was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was universally abhorred by the soldiery, on account of his severity and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival they plundered his tent, and would have massacred him, had he not saved himself by flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of Edessa. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged Germanus, governor of Phoenicia, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not enjoyed long before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, sent Philippicus again into the East to bring them back to their duty. Germanus was for resigning the command to him; but the soldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both against his own will and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to continue in the post to which they had raised him. In the mean time the Persians, taking advantage of these disturbances, broke into the empire, destroying every thing with fire and sword: but Germanus engaged them, according to Evagrius, with such success, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into Persia^b. Not long after this victory the mutiny was appeased, by Gregory, bishop of Antioch, a person greatly beloved and revered by the soldiery for the sanctity of his life and the humanity of his disposition. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they submitted in the end to Philippicus, who, after having published a general act of oblivion, marched without loss of time against the Persians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himself, by name Marazas, and almost the whole army, were destroyed, only two thousand two hundred of so great a multitude having escaped the general slaughter^c.

*The Per-
sians de-
feated by
Germanus.*

The same year the city of Antioch was once more almost utterly destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thousand persons were either buried under the ruins, or swallowed up by the earth. Sittas, one of the citizens of Martyropolis, having betrayed that important place to the Persians, Philippicus, early in the spring, laid siege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and Commentiolus appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the Persians, gained a complete victory over them, made himself master of a castle called Ochas, built on a high rock over-against Martyropolis, and from thence so annoyed the garrison with his warlike engines, that they

*Yr. of Fl.
2936. •
A. D. 588
U. C. 1336.*

*The Per-
sians de-
feated by
Commen-
tius.*

^a Evagr. lib. v. cap. 9. Theoph. cap. 8, 9. ^b Ibid. cap. 10, 15.

were obliged to submit, and deliver up the place. Hormisda, ascribing his losses to the cowardice of his general, named Barames, deprived him of his command, sending him at the same time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. Barames, to revenge this affront, conspired against Hormisda, who was universally hated on account of his cruelty. Having easily gained over the greater part of the army, and amongst the rest Ferrochanes, who had been sent to command in his room, he fell upon the king, with the other conspirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from his head, and conveyed him, under a strong guard, to the public prison. Next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his sons, to be sawed asunder in his presence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated with great humanity by his eldest son Cosrhoes, whom the rebels had raised to the throne. But the deposed king, not able to bear so great a change, instead of acknowledging the kindness shewn him by his son, who dared not release him, trampled under foot whatever was sent him; a circumstance which provoked Cosrhoes to such a degree, that in the transport of his passion he caused him to be beaten to death. Though the Persians abhorred Hormisda, yet the aversion they conceived against Cosrhoes, on account of this unnatural murder, was so great, that the nobility, people and soldiery conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the Roman dominions. Mauritius, touched with compassion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at Constantinople with all possible demonstrations of kindness, entertained him in a manner suitable to his condition, and having presented him with immense sums, sent him back at the head of a powerful army, which entering Persia, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged Barames, their ringleader, to take refuge amongst the neighbouring Barbarians, and restoring the banished prince to the throne of his ancestors, returned in triumph to the Roman territories.

*The Avari
invade the
empire.*

Upon the restoration of Cosrhoes, a profound peace ensued in the East; so that the emperor was at leisure to pursue the war against the Avari, who, passing the Danube, had entered Thrace, and made themselves masters of several strong places in that province. Mauritius marched against them in person, at the head of the army lately re-

turned from the East; but after several battles fought with dubious success, he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace, which however the king of the Avari did not long observe; for entering into an alliance with the Gepidae, the Sclavi, and other neighbouring Barbarians, he returned the following year, boasting that he would utterly abolish the Roman name, and establish a new empire over all people and nations. After he had laid waste Thrace, he approached Constantinople with his numerous army; which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting Europe, and retiring with their families and effects to Chalcedon and other places in Asia. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending storm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the Barbarians, assuring them that Heaven would not suffer the peace, which the chagan had confirmed with the most solemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity.¹ The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unnecessary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, swept off daily great numbers of them, and amongst the rest seven of the chagan's sons; a calamity which so terrified the Barbarians, that they resolved to abandon the Roman territories, and return beyond the Danube. The chagan, when upon the point of departing, offered to set at liberty the Roman captives, of whom he had twelve thousand, for a very inconsiderable ransom; but the emperor refusing to ransom them, because they had been for the most part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, the chagan, transported with rage, put them all to the sword. This execution occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at Constantinople, where the populace insulted the emperor in a most outrageous manner¹.

*Obliged by
a plague to
return to
their own
country.*

Next year the Avari, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were, in five successive battles, overthrown by Priscus, with the loss of above thirty thousand men, and obliged to quit the Roman dominions. Priscus returned to Constantinople; but Peter, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the Danube, was ordered to cross that river and winter in the enemy's country. This order the soldiers, who had conceived an irreconcileable aversion to Mauritius ever since he refused to ransom the captives, would by no means comply with,

¹ Theophyl. lib. vii. cap. 1—17. & lib. viii. cap. 2. Cedren. Ann. Maur. 19. Zonar. p. 137.

*The army
on the Da-
nube de-
clare Pho-
cas em-
peror.
Mauritius
retires.*

*Phocas
crowned
emperor at
Constanti-
nople.*

*Yr. of Fl.
295¹.
A D. 603.
U.C. 1351.*

*Mauritius
and five of
his chil-
dren put
to death.*

looking upon it as given on purpose to expose them to new hardships. A general mutiny ensuing, they declared a centurion, named Phocas, emperor, bestowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of Augustus. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of Phocas, being brought to Constantinople, the populace, ever fond of change, rose against Mauritius, who finding himself abandoned by his guards, embarked in a small vessel with his wife and children, proposing to retire in disguise to some place of safety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr Autonomus, about a hundred and fifty furlongs from Constantinople. In the mean time Phocas, arriving with his army, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace, and was solemnly crowned in the church of St. John Baptist, with his wife Leontia, by the patriarch, after he had promised to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of Nice and Chalcedon.

The following days he exhibited public sports, during which warm disputes arising between the two factions, the blue and the green, Phocas sent his guards to appease the tumult; who having used roughly a tribune of the blue faction, those of the same party threatening the emperor, cried out that Mauritius, who would do them justice, was not yet dead. This exclamation awakened the jealousy of the tyrant, who immediately ordered Mauritius to be dragged from his asylum to Chalcedon, where five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself was beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and Christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, "Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments." He was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not suffer this kind of fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The heads of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. Mamas*. Such was the end of Mauritius, after he had lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen years, three months, and some days*. The tyrant, not satisfied with the death of Mauritius, caused Peter his brother, Com-

* Theoph. lib. vii. cap. 10.. Niceph. lib. xviii. cap. 41. Cedren. Ann. Maur. 19. Zonar. p. 137. * Evagr. lib. v. cap. 23.

mentiolus,

mentiolus, who had the chief command of the army, George • the son of Philipicus, and Præsentinus, an officer of great distinction, much attached to the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly massacred. * Theodosius, the eldest son of Mauritus, had been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to solicit succours from Colrhœs, whom he had restored to the throne of his ancestors ; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed at a place called Leuctra, at a small distance from Nicæa in Bithynia.

The emperor's brother, and several others, murdered by Phocas.

Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at Constantinople, sent, according to custom, his own image, and that of his wife Leontia, to Rome, where they were received with loud acclamations, the people there being incensed against Mauritus on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other ministers in Italy. Gregory, surnamed the Great, then bishop of Rome, caused the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr Cæsarius, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he said was effected by a particular providence, to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities and heavy oppressions under which they had long groaned. Had we no other character of Phocas and Leontia but that which has been conveyed to us in Gregory's letters, we should rank him amongst the best princes mentioned in history ; but all other writers paint him in quite different colours ; and his actions, transmitted to us by several historians, evidently speak him a most cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. He was of middling stature, says Cedrenus¹, deformed, and of a terrible aspect : his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a scar, which, when he was in a passion, grew black and frightful : he was greatly addicted to wine and women, bloodthirsty, inexorable, bold in speech, a stranger to compassion, in his principles a heretic. He endeavoured, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circensian games with extraordinary pomp, and distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people ; but finding that instead of applauding they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them. Some were killed, many wounded, and great numbers dragged to prison : but the populace rising, set them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcileable aversion to the tyrant.

Phocas's character.

He is hated by the people.

• Greg. lib. xi. ep. 18.

1 Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1.

Narses revolts;

and defeats Germanus.

Phocas gains over Narses, who is burnt alive.

The emperor's cruelty.

The death of Mauritius was no sooner known in the East, than the celebrated Narses, who, at that time, commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of Persia, revolted; and seizing on the city of Edesse, easily persuaded Cosroes to join him, in order to depose the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince to whom he was indebted for his crown. Cosroes, upon the first invitation, entered the Roman territories, at the head of a powerful army, and over-run, without opposition, all Mesopotamia.⁶ Against this invader Germanus was sent into the East; but Narses meeting him not far from Edesse, engaged, and put him to flight. Germanus dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, Leontius, who was sent to succeed him, having, upon his arrival, suffered himself to be surprised by Narses, was in like manner defeated, and his army dispersed; a disgrace which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he not only recalled, but ordered him to be led about in chains, exposing him thus to the outrages and insults of the populace. Phocas, despairing of success so long as Narses continued in the Persian interest, left no method untried to gain him over; but after he had, with the most solemn oaths, and repeated assurances of indemnity and favour, persuaded him to return home, he no sooner had him in his power, than he caused him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of the Romans, by whom he was adored on account of the eminent services he had rendered the empire, and to the no less satisfaction of the Persians, who dreaded the very name of Narses⁷. Though destitute of so renowned a leader, they pursued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all Mesopotamia and Syria; and, having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immense booty.

Phocas, finding himself universally hated by the people, on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, in order to strengthen and secure his authority by alliances with the nobility, married his daughter Domitia to Priscus, a patrician, and captain of the guards: but in the magnificent shew that were exhibited on occasion of the nuptials, the people having saluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of Augusti, the jealous emperor ordered Theophanes and Pamphylius, who superintended the sports, and had exposed the images of Priscus and Domitia without any evil design, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have

⁶ Cedren. & Min. Hist. ad Ann. Phoc. 3.

likewise put Priscus to death, had not the people interposed in his behalf¹. The jealousy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one Peronia, who was privy to all the secrets of Constantina, the widow of Mauritius, informed the emperor, that she maintained a private correspondence with Germanus, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a design to raise her son Theodosius, whom she believed still living, to the empire. In consequence of this information Constantina was immediately seized, and being put to the rack, confessed that Romanus, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conspiracy. Romanus discovered upon the rack several others, and among the rest Theodorus, prefect of the East, Helpidius, John, Ziza, and many other persons of great distinction, who were all, by the emperor's order, put to death, together with Romanus and Germanus, the tyrant not even sparing the daughter of the latter. As for Constantina, she was carried to the place where her husband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed, with her three daughters². The jealousy of the suspicious tyrant being heightened by these discoveries, incredible multitudes of persons of all ranks were daily dragged to prison, which by that means was so crowded, that great numbers died daily, suffocated with the stench of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compassion for the unhappy prisoners, yielded up her house for their accommodation³.

While Phocas thus raged at home, Cosrhœs in the East laid waste, without opposition, Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia: having put to flight the troops that were sent against him, he entered Galatia, and committing dreadful ravages, both in that province and in Paphlagonia, advanced as far as Chalcedon. In the mean time Phocas, instead of protecting his people against an implacable and insulting enemy, oppressed them with every species of tyranny. He not only put to death all those who were related to Mauritius, but caused Commentiolus, governor of Thrace, and one of the best officers of the empire, with several other persons of great distinction, to be inhumanly murdered. These cruelties alarmed Priscus, son-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending sooner or later the same fate, resolved to provide for his own safety, and to rid the world of so great a plague. Being informed that Heraclius, governor of Africa, was privately carrying on a conspiracy in that province, instead of discovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the

*Constantina, with
her daugh-
ters, and
many
others, put
to death.*

*Syria, Pa-
lestine, and
Phœnicia,
over-run
by the Per-
sians.*

*Priscus
conspires
against the
emperor.*

¹ Theoph. Hist. Miscel. lib. xvii. cap. 40.

² Idem ibid. Nic-
ceph. lib. xvii. cap. 41.

Glic. Annal. in Conſt. Mag.

*An insur-
rection at
Antioch.*

*An insur-
rection at
Constantinople.*

*A conspira-
cy against
the empe-
ror dis-
covered.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2939.*

A.D. 611.

D.C. 3359.

*Heraclius
proclaimed
emperor in
Africa.*

chief men in the senate to the party of the conspirators, and at the same time dispatching persons, in whom he could confide, to Heraclius, advised him to send, without loss of time, his son Heraclius, and Nicetas, the son of Gregoras, his lieutenant, with what forces he could spare, to support the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt*. Phocas, in the mean while, not apprised of the danger that threatened him, dispatched Bonosus, whom he had lately appointed count of the East, with a considerable army to oppose the Persians; but while he was on his march, he received fresh letters from the emperor, enjoining him to hasten to Antioch, where the Jews, rising against the Christians, had massacred great numbers of them, and among the rest Anastasius, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whose dead body they had ignominiously dragged through the streets, and insulted in a most outrageous manner. Bonosus having attempted in vain to appease the tumult by gentle means, fell upon the mutineers sword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the city†.

At the same time greater disorders happened at Constantinople. The people, reviling the emperor at the public shews for his cruelty, drunkenness, and debaucheries, provoked him to such a degree, that, transported with rage, he caused several of them to be seized, who were either beheaded on the spot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the sea; barbarities which so enraged the rest, that they set fire to the palace and the public prison; by which means those who were confined made their escape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conspiracy was formed against him by those in whom he most confided. The chief authors of it were Theodorus, a Cappadocian, the praefectus praetorio, Helpidius, who had the care of the warlike engines, and Anastasius, the comes lartitionum. These, with several others of great authority near his person, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conspiracy being discovered by Anastasius, the emperor ordered all those who had been privy to it, Anastasius himself not excepted, to be put to death. Phocas escaped this danger; but the following year 610, he was overtaken by the fate he had long deserved. Heraclius, the son of the governor of Africa, who bore the same name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as such by the people of Africa, sailed from thence with a formidable fleet, and a powerful army on board, for Con-

* Cedren. in Annal. Phoc. † Hist. Miscel. lib. xvii. Ann. Phoc. 7. Cedren. Ann. 7.

stantinople, while Nicetas marched thither by way of Alexandria and the Pentapolis. Heraclius steered his course to Abydus, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by several persons of rank, who had been banished by Phocas. From Abydus he failed to Constantinople, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. Phocas took refuge in the palace; but one Photinus, whose wife he had formerly debauched, pursuing him with a party of soldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having stripped him of the imperial robes, and clothed him with a black vest, carried him in chains to Heraclius, who commanded first his hands and feet, then his arms, and at last his head, to be cut off: the remaining part of his body was delivered up to the soldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that Heraclius having reproached him with his evil administration, he answered, with great calmness, "It is incumbent upon you to govern better." Such was the end of this cruel tyrant, after he had reigned seven years and some months. Upon his death, Heraclius was proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, he placed the imperial crown on the head of Fabia, thenceforth called Eudocia, the daughter of Rogatus, an African, who had been formerly betrothed to him. Heraclius was descended of a noble and opulent family in Cappadocia, of a majestic aspect, well skilled in the art of war, courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life.

The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predecessor, were highly pleased with the change: but their joy was allayed, by dismal tidings from the East, where the Persians made themselves masters of Edessa, and Apamea, and penetrating as far as Antioch, cut off almost to a man a body of Romans, who attempted to stop them, committing every where, without controul, most dreadful ravages, and unheard of cruelties. Heraclius, to answer the expectation the world had conceived of him, caused new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being so entirely exhausted, that, of the many thousands who had seven years before revolted from Mauritius, and declared for Phocas, only two soldiers were now living.^x The new-raised troops were sent into Cappadocia, under the command of Crispus, who nevertheless could not prevent the Persians from over-running that province, and making themselves masters of Cæsarea, which they sacked, and hav-

Phocas deposed and put to death.

Heraclius proclaimed emperor.

The Persians make themselves masters of several cities.

Ravage Cappado- cia and Ar- menia.

^x Niceph. lib. xviii. cap. 26. Miscel. Ann. 7. Phoc. Cedren. Heracl. Ann. 2.

ing laid waste both that province and Armenia, returned home loaded with booty^a.

On the third of May, of the same year 611, the empress Eudocia was delivered of a son; but she died soon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The son was called Heraclius, and afterwards Constantine the younger^a. Heraclius, not finding himself in a condition to restrain the Persians by force of arms, dispatched ambassadors to Cosroes, offering to pay him a yearly pension, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms: but Cosroes, deaf to all proposals, sent next year a formidable army into Syria, under the conduct of Rasmizsus, who, after having ravaged, without opposition, that country, broke into Palestine, and took the city of Jerusalem, where they committed unheard-of cruelties. They are said to have sold ninety thousand Christians to the Jews, who purchased them not with a design to use them as slaves, but to vent upon them their inveterate hatred, and implacable rage against the religion they professed. Zacharias, the patriarch, was carried into Persia, with an immense booty, and part of the cross on which our Saviour suffered^b. In the course of the same year Heraclius married Martina, his brother's daughter, and caused her to be crowned, with the usual pomp, by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople. The Persians next year overran all Egypt, took and pillaged the city of Alexandria, and, advancing into Africa, laid siege to Carthage; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmolested into Persia, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the spoils of the several provinces, through which they passed^c. Heraclius, who continued all this time at Constantinople, where he created his son Constantine Cæsar, and gave the title of Augusta to his daughter, being apprised, that he had not sufficient strength to oppose so formidable an enemy, sent once more ambassadors to Cosroes, reminding him of the kindness formerly shewn him by Mauritius, and offering to conclude a lasting peace with him upon what terms he himself should judge reasonable: but Cosroes, elated with his success, and aiming at nothing less than the utter destruction of the Roman name, returned the ambassadors the following blasphemous answer: "Let your master know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his subjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the Sun, the great god of the Persians."

*Over run
Egypt and
Palestine,
and take
Jerusalem*

*Cosroes
will hear-
ken to no
terms.*

^a Theoph. Hist. Miscel. Ann. 2. Heracl.

^a Zonar. p. 140.

^b Theoph. ad Ann. Heracl. 5.

^c Hist. Miscel. lib. iv. Cedren. Ann. Heracl. 6. Leont. in Vit. Joan. Eleemos.

Heraclius,

Heraclius, by this impious and insulting answer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the king of the Avari ; and having, with the consent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches, as the treasury was quite drained, he raised a powerful army, consisting not only of Romans but of Hunns, Avari, and other barbarous nations. With these forces, he resolved to march in person against Cosrhœs ; and accordingly having appointed his son to govern in his absence, under the direction of Sergius the patriarch, and the patrician Bonus, a person of great wisdom and experience, he set out from Constantinople, training on his march such of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time Saes, the Persian general, who had ravaged all Cappadocia, taken by storm the city of Ancyra, and penetrated as far as Chalcedon, hearing that Heraclius was advancing with a numerous army, sent deputies inviting him to an interview, which he hoped would end in a lasting peace between the two empires. The emperor complied with his request ; and believing him in earnest, sent seventy persons of distinction on an embassy to the king of Persia : but these the Persian general, with the utmost treachery, loaded with chains, and carried into Persia, where they were thrown into prison, and treated with great inhumanity by Cosrhœs. Saes met with the punishment his treachery deserved ; for the king, incensed against him for having seen the Roman emperor, and not brought him away prisoner with the rest, caused him to be slain alive⁴. One Sarbaras was appointed to command in his room, who, entering Asia at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province.

Heraclius, in the mean time, pursued his march to the confines of Armenia ; and, having put to flight a party of Persians, who guarded the streights leading into that province, proceeded towards Pontus. As the year was far advanced, the Persians, imagining he designed to take up his winter-quarters in Pontus, withdrew to their's ; a step which they had no sooner taken than Heraclius broke into their territories, destroying all before him with fire and sword. This sudden irruption obliged the Persians to quit Cilicia, which they had entered, and hasten to the defence of their own country. Heraclius, apprised of their approach, drew together his men dispersed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were entirely defeated, the Romans remaining masters both

*Heraclius
raises a
powerful
army.*

*He marches
in person
against the
Persians.*

*The
cherry of
their gene-
ral.*

*Heraclius
invades
Persia, and
gains a
great vic-
tory.*

⁴ Theoph. ad Ann. Herac. Cedren. Annal. Ann. 4.

of their camp and baggage. The emperor being by the season prevented from pursuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned to Constantinople.² Cosroes sent, early in the spring, Sarabazas, or Sarmanazaris, to lay waste the Roman provinces; a motion which obliged Heraclius to quit Constantinople, and hasten into the East.³ Upon his arrival in Armenia, he dispatched ambassadors to Cosroes, with new proposals for an accommodation; which being by the Persian monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded Persia anew, took several towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without control. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thousand chosen men near the city of Gazacum, or Gazacotis, he directed his march thither, with a design to surprise him: but Cosroes, receiving timely notice of his approach, instead of making the necessary preparations to receive him, fled with precipitation. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered Gazacum without opposition, where he is said, by Theophanes and Cedrenus, to have found the immense treasures of Creesus king of Lydia, which he seized. Having secured it, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the Sun, he set fire to the city, and marching with all possible expedition in pursuit of the king, arrived at Thebatman, where Theophanes places the above mentioned temple. Laying waste the countries through which he passed, he continued his march to the frontiers of Media; but winter approaching, he thought it advisable to give over the pursuit. Accordingly, having set apart three days to return public thanks for the success of this glorious campaign, and implore the farther protection of heaven, he opened the book of the Gospels, pursuant to a custom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was enjoined there to winter in Albania, directed his march to that province.

*An instance
of the good
nature.*

In his retreat, the Persians, desirous of recovering the immense booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were constantly repulsed with great loss. As the weather proved very severe, and the captives, fifty thousand in number, were more affected with it than the rest, being accustomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be released without ransom, giving them leave to return unmolested to their respective countries.⁴ The following campaign proved no less suc-

² Niseph. in Heracl. cap. 5. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Theoph. Cedren. Niseph.

cessful to the Romans, Heraclius having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general Sarabiacas, though the Lazians, and other auxiliaries, had shamefully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged by this success, he took the field next year early in the spring, and crossing the Euphrates, made himself master of Samosata, and several other places. Sarabazas, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to check the progress of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the Sanis. In this last battle, the emperor gave signal proofs of his conduct and personal courage. After this victory, Heraclius took up his winter-quarters at Sebastia, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. Cosrhaes, transported with rage, at seeing his armies thus shamefully defeated, seized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, from hatred to Heraclius, raised a cruel persecution against the Catholics, sparing none but such as embraced the doctrine of Nestorius. At the same time, by his ambassadors, he engaged in his cause the Avari, the Hunns, the Sclavonians, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading Thrace, and laying siege to Constantinople, undertook to divert the emperor from pursuing the war in Persia. Heraclius, not ignorant of these negotiations, though carried on with great secrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of Constantinople; the second, under the conduct of Theodorus, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of Sais, who threatened to invade Asia; while the emperor himself led the third into Lazica, in order to invade from thence the Persian dominions.

Pursuant to this plan, Heraclius advanced into Lazica, where being joined by forty thousand Chazari, or, as Cedrenus calls them, eastern Turks, he entered Persia in the depth of winter; and meeting with no opposition, laid waste several provinces. On the other hand the chagan, or king of the Avari, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of Persia, breaking into Thrace, committed dreadful ravages, and in the end laid siege to Constantinople; but being in several attacks repulsed by the garrison, and having lost the principal part of their army, they thought it adviseable to drop the enterprize, and retire. About the same time Sais, who had under his command the flower of the Persian army, received a dreadful overthrow from Theodorus, who lost but a very small number of men. Next year Heraclius, invading Persia in the depth of winter, advanced as far as Nineveh, where he was met by Razafes, to whom Cosrhaes had committed the whole management

Yr. of Fl.
2973.
A.D. 625
U.C. 1373.

The Barbarians fit down before Constantinople, but are forced to raise the siege.

The emperor gains other victories.

of the war. A battle ensuing, the Persians, after an obstinate dispute, were put to flight, and their general was slain, the Romans having lost but fifty men on that occasion. In this battle the emperor behaved with his usual bravery, having killed three Persian commanders with his own hand. Cosroes, upon the news of this defeat, fled to Seleucia on the Tigris, and there shut himself up with his wives, children and treasures, while Heraclius, having now no army to oppose him, ravaged the most fertile provinces of the Persian dominions. At Distagerda he found the ensigns and standards which at different times had been taken from the Romans, and in other places rescued members of Roman captives. In the mean time Sarbarazes, to divert Heraclius from ravaging Persia, laid siege to Chalcedon; but after he had continued some time before the place, without being able to reduce it, Cosroes sent private orders to Chardarichas, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into Persia: but the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's son at Constantinople, by whom it was immediately sent to Sarbarazes, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the same time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger son Merdasa his successor; a disposition which Syroes, his eldest son, no sooner understood than he joined Chardarichas. Being assisted by the Roman captives, whom he set at liberty pursuant to the advice given him by Heraclius; he feized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with Merdasa, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural son, most outrageously insulted by all the nobility.^a

One of the Persian generals revolts.

Cosroes deposed, and succeeded by his son Syroes,

who makes peace with the Romans.

Syroes, thus raised to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with Heraclius, upon terms no less honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he restored all the provinces that had been seized by his predecessors, with three hundred ensigns, and the wood which was supposed to have been part of the cross on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by Cosroes in triumph from Jerusalem to Persia.^b He likewise set at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the rest Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem. A peace being thus concluded, Heraclius returned to Constantinople, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at some distance by his son Constantine, the patriarch, and almost all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with songs of triumph, and

^a Theoph. ad Ann. Heret. 17.

^b Theoph. hoc Ann. & Cedren.

repeated acclamations. No prince ever deserved better of the empire; for, in the space of six years, he recovered the several provinces which had been dismembered from it by the Persians, revenged all the indignities offered to the Roman name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the most formidable of all the enemies of the empire to such a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. These things Heraclius performed, though, upon his accession to the empire, he found it over-run by several barbarous nations, the treasury quite drained, the military discipline relaxed, and the army consisting of raw and unexperienced levies, scarce deserving the name of soldiers.

Heraclius, having passed the winter at Constantinople, in the spring of the following year 628, repaired to Jerusalem, carrying with him that part of the cross which had been taken by the Persians (A). From Jerusalem Heraclius continued his progress into the Eastern provinces. Upon his arrival at Hierapolis in Phrygia, he receivgd news of the death of Syroes, the new king of Persia, murdered, according to some, by Sarbaras, one of his generals, according to others, by his own son Adeser, who succeeded him, but was assassinated in the seventh month of his reign by Barrazas, whom the Persians, a few months after, deposed, and put to death, raising Barahanes, the son of Cosrhoes, to the throne in his room. Barahanes, after a short reign of feven months, was succeeded by Hormisda, the last Persian king of the race of Arsfaxerxes; for, in his reign, the Saracens put an end to the Persian monarchy, and established the kingdom of the Arabians in its room. From Hierapolis the emperor removed to Edessa, where

Heraclius carries back the cross to Jerusalem.

(A) He entered the city in great pomp: and having returned in the chief church solemn thanks to the Almighty for the many solemn victories he had been pleased to grant him, and for choosing him to rescue that sacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the Christian name, he restored it, with great solemnity, to its former place. Upon this occasion was instituted the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy

Cross, which is celebrated to this day by the church of Rome, on the fourteenth of September⁽¹⁾. Of the miracles that are said to have happened on this occasion, the reader will find a particular account in Cedrenus, and other ecclesiastic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor published an edict, banishing all the Jews from Jerusalem; and forbidding them, under severe penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city.

(1) Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Heracl. 49.

he received ambassadors from the king of India in the East, and from Dagobert, king of the Franks, in the West, sent to congratulate him on his late success against the Persians, and to court his friendship and alliance. While the emperor continued at Edessa, Athanasius, the patriarch of the Jacobites, a man of great address, having insinuated himself into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in Christ; a circumstance which created a dangerous schism in the church, and gave rise to warm disputes, Heraclius everafter maintaining it to the utmost of his power, and countenancing the Monothelites, that is, those who acknowledged but one will in Christ. This heresy, however, did not prove so prejudicial to the church as the pestilent and impious doctrine of the impostor Mohammed, which was first broached in the reign of Heraclius. The impostor died this year, the twenty-first of the reign of Heraclius, and 636th of the Christian æra, after having reduced, with the assistance of the rabble, whom he had seduced, and of the Saracens, who had joined him, the cities of Mecca and Medina, and part of Arabia. Mohammed, who, by a double usurpation, had declared himself both the king and prophet of the Saracens, was succeeded by Eubebezer, his kinsman, who reduced great part of Persia, and breaking into Palestine, laid waste the territory of Gaza, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops.

Yr. of Fl.
A.D. 633.
U.C. 1381.

The Saracens overcame several provinces.

Defeat the Romans, and take Damascus.

Eubebezer dying in the course of the following year, was succeeded by Haumar, who made himself master of Bostra, and several other cities of Arabia, and gained a complete victory over Theodorus, the emperor's brother. Heraclius appointed Boanes to command in his room, and at the same time detached Theodorus Sacellarius into Arabia. The latter was met near Emesa by the Saracens, under the command of Haumar; but he prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had commanded Boanes, who lay encamped at Damascus, to join him. In the mean time Heraclius, dreading the issue of the war, leaving Edessa, hastened to Jerusalem, and repaired from thence to Constantinople, carrying with him the crofs, and whatever else was of value in the city, which, he feared, would soon fall into the enemy's hands. Boanes having engaged the Saracens, was by them entirely defeated. After this victory they made themselves masters of Damascus; and, advancing from thence into Phœnicia, reduced that province without meeting with the least opposition. Haum-

mar, encouraged by this success, took the field early next spring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, sent one to invade Egypt, and led the other in person against Jerusalem. They were met upon the borders of Egypt by Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who, by promising in the name of the people to pay them an annual pension of two hundred thousand denarii, prevailed upon them to spare the country, and retire. This agreement was observed for three years, during which the Saracens never offered to molest the Egyptians.

The emperor being advised to break the agreement, one Manuel, by birth an Armenian, was appointed governor of Egypt, and sent thither with a strong body of troops; so that the commissioners from the Saracens, when they came to demand the usual pension, were received with contempt and disdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a priest, but a Roman general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not submit to such ignominious conditions. The Saracens, provoked at this answer, flew to arms; and invading Egypt, put Manuel to flight, and made themselves masters of the whole country. The emperor, not having sufficient strength to drive them out, sent Cyrus to them, promising to submit to the former agreement, provided they withdrew out of Egypt. But the Saracens refused to quit, upon any terms, their new conquest.^k The loss of Egypt, which had continued subject to the empire ever since the time of Augustus, happened in the twenty-fifth year of Heraclius's reign, and 634th of the Christian æra. Egypt being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by Haumar sent into Syria; which province they conquered in the space of two years, making themselves masters of all the strong places there, and of Antioch itself, the metropolis of the East. Haumar, in the mean time, entering Palestine, marched without opposition to Jerusalem, which city he took in 636, after two years siege. Thus were the most wealthy provinces of the empire torn from it by the Saracens, hitherto looked upon with a contempt suitable to their original. Heraclius, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progress of this new enemy, was so employed with unseasonable disputes about religion, with public festivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him.^l The ecclesiastical writers look upon his supine and unaccountable security, as a punishment inflict-

Yr. of Pl.
2982.
A. D. 634.
U. C. 1382.

*They re-
duce Egypt
and Syria.*

*Jerusalem
taken by
the Sarac-
ens.*

Yr. of Fl.
2990.
A. D. 642.
U.C. 1390.

*Heraclius
dies.*

*Constans
declared
emperor.*

*Africia con-
quered by
the Sarac-
ens, with
the islands
of Cyprus,
Aradus,
and Rhodes.*

*Armenia
laid waste.*

ed upon him by Heaven for countenancing the Monothelites, and persecuting the Catholics; for, not satisfied with holding the doctrine of those heretics himself, he endeavoured to establish it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called ecclesis, or exposition: but before he could put this design in execution, he died of a dropsey, which was attended with strange and unaccountable symptoms:

Heraclius, who had reigned thirty years, was succeeded by his son Constantine, who died after a short reign of seven months, poisoned, as was supposed, by his step-mother Martina; to make room for her own son Heraclonas; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the usual solemnity. He had not possessed the empire quite six months, when the senate revolting, deposed him; and after having cut off his nose, and pulled out Martina's tongue, sent them both into banishment. Pyrrhus, the heretical patriarch of Constantinople, supposed to have been privy to the death of Constantine, abandoning his see, fled into Africa. The senate, having thus delivered the empire from the usurper Heraclonas, advanced Constans, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Heraclius, to the throne. The first years of this prince's reign are almost barren of events: Theophanes, and the other Greek writers, only tells us, that in his second year Haumar began to build a temple at Jerusalem; that in his third happened an eclipse of the sun, and violent storms in his sixth; which were looked upon as the fore-runners of more violent concussions: that same year the Saracens, not satisfied with Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine, broke like a torrent into Africa; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name Gregory, made themselves masters of that extensive and fruitful country. Next year Mahias, or Mahuvias, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the island of Cyprus; which he easily reduced, and laid in ashes the city of Constantia. From Cyprus he sailed to the island of Aradus, which he took, together with the city; and from thence steering his course to Rhodes, made himself master of that island, destroying the famous colossus of the Sun, one thousand three hundred and sixty years after it had been set up by Laches or Chares.

While Mahuvias was thus employed in the island of Rhodes, his countrymen, breaking into Armenia, laid waste that country far and wide; the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at Constantinople, or busying himself only

in matters of religion, and promoting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the Monothelites, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His supine negligence encouraged Mahuviās to make an attempt upon Constantinople. With this view he fitted out a strong fleet at Tripolis in Phœnicia, and would in all likelihood have succeeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, the sons of a Greecian trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public prison, crowded with Christian captives, with their assistance killed the ameras, as the Saracens called him, or the governor of the place; set fire to the fleet, destroyed all the naval preparations, and then escaped in a ship provided for that purpose. Mahuviās, having with incredible expedition equipped another fleet, sailed to Phœnica in Lycia, where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded by Constans in person, who with difficulty escaped in disguise to Constantinople^m. In order to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year against the Sclavi, or Sclavonians, who had settled on that country, which to this day is called from them Sclavonia. The emperor defeated them in several encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to Constantinople, where he found ambassadors from the Saracens, now divided among themselves, come to solicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted, yielding to them the many provinces they had seized, upon their paying to him and his successors, by way of tribute, a thousand nummi a year, with a horse and a slave.

The emperor's fleet defeated.

A peace with the Saracens.

The emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother Theodosius, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, caused him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet appeased, he ordered him soon after to be murdered; an order which was no sooner executed than he was seized with dread and terror, imagining that he saw his brother constantly standing before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirst. Haunted and terrified by this fancied apparition, and the remorse of his conscience, he left Constantinople, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to Sicily, resolving to transfer the seat of the empire to Syracuse; but the inhabitants of Constantinople, apprised of his design, detained his wife and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a second Cain, from place to place; but his guilt pursuing him whither-

The emperor murders his brother.

The Constantinopolitan History.

*The Saracens r-
wage the
Roman
territories.*

*The emperor's unsuc-
cessful ex-
pedition a-
gainst the
Lombards.*

*His avar-
ice.*

Yr. of Fl.

3016.

A. D. 668.

U. C. 1416.

*He is mur-
dered.*

soever he went, he became an object of compassion even to his most inveterate enemies. In the meantime Mahuviat, who had caused his competitor Hali to be murdered, and now reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, sent his son Izod to lay waste the Roman territories, who advancing as far as Chalcection, and having made himself master of Amorium, a strong city of Phrygia, left a garrison in the place, and returned with an immense booty to his father. Amorium, however, was soon after surprised and retaken by Andreas, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the Saracens he found in the place to the sword.

During the emperor's stay in Sicily, a war broke out between the Franks and Lombards; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of Italy, fitted out a formidable fleet, and landing at Tarentum, marched directly to lay siege to Beneventum, taking Luceria, and several other cities belonging to the Lombards, in his way: but Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, marching, after a signal victory over the Franks, to the relief of the place, the emperor, laying the siege in great haste, retired to Naples. Not long after, a body of twenty thousand Romans was almost entirely cut off, with Saburrus their general, by Romoald, the son of Grimoald*. After this defeat the emperor, laying aside all thoughts of dispossessing the Lombards of that part of Italy which they occupied, took a progress to Rome, which he entered in great pomp, being met six miles from the city by Vitalianus, bishop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in Rome, and caused the most remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to Constantinople, he returned to Naples, and from thence to Syracuse: here he resided for the space of five years, oppressing his people with enormous exactions, and even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments and sacred vessels.

Having thus rendered himself odious and contemptible to all his subjects, one Andrew, the son of Troilus, resolved to rid the world of so great a plague; and accordingly dispatched him in the bath of Daphne at Syracuse, by repeated blows on the head, with the vessel that was made use of to pour water upon him. Thus perished Constans II. in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and 668 of the Christian era. Upon his death the people of Syracuse proclaimed Mezizius, by birth an Armenian, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comeliness of his person. The news of his promotion no-

sooner reached Constantinople, than Constantine, the son of the deceased emperor having with the utmost expedition equipped a fleet, sailed to Sicily, and having defeated, taken, and put to death the usurper, caused himself to be acknowledged emperor in his room. He must have continued some time in the West, settling the provinces that were still subject to the empire there; for we are told by Zonaras, that he was by the people of Constantinople surnamed Pogonatus, because, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of Constantinople received him, on his return from Sicily, with loud acclamations; but he had not been long in the city when some, misled by a strange notion, that as there were three persons in the Trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne, pressed him to take his two brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, for his partners in the empire. This doctrine alarmed the young emperor, who having got the bearers of it into his power, put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire. While these things passed at Constantinople, the Saracens, entering Africa, where the people had insulted some of their garrisons, committed many barbarities; and having ravaged the country, returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon Sicily; took and plundered the city of Syracuse, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner Cilicia; and having passed the winter at Smyrna, entered Thrace in the month of April of the following year 672, and laid siege to Constantinople; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw in the month of September to Cyzicus. However, in the ensuing spring they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and retire to Cyzicus in the winter, for the space of seven years, say the Greek writers, though from some of them it appears, that in the fourteenth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the Romans and Saracens.

In this long siege the Saracens lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Egypt. The

*His son
made em-
peror.*

*Several
provinces
ravaged
by the Sa-
racens.*

*They be-
siege Con-
stantinople;*

but drop that enterprise. Their fleet-wrecked, and their army defeated. enemy despairing of success, abandoned the enterprise; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the Scylæan promontory. About the same time three of the emperor's lieutenants, Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus, gained a signal victory in Syria over Sulphianus, who commanded there a numerous body of Saracens; but lost in the engagement thirty thousand of his men^r. These misfortunes encouraged the Mardaites, or Maronites, to seize on Mount Libanus, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of Christian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between Mount Taurus and Jerusalem, made frequent incursions into Syria, and so harassed and terrified the Saracens, that Mahavias, not thinking himself able to contend with them and the Romans at the same time, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with Constantine; which was concluded upon the following terms:

They conclude a peace with the empire.

1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years.
2. That the Saracens should retain the provinces they had seized.
3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors, three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. This peace was thought, as affairs then stood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire.

The Bulgarians break into Thrace.

The first ecumenical council.

Constantine dies.

It was scarce concluded when the Bulgarians, leaving their native seats on the banks of the Volga or Bulga, whence some think they took their name, advanced as far as the Danube, which they passed without opposition, to the number of one hundred thousand; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged the countries through which they passed. The emperor sent a considerable army against them; which being put to flight by the Barbarians, he chose rather to conclude a peace, by promising to pay them an annual pension, than to pursue an expensive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domestic, laboured, with indefatigable pains to establish in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the state. For this purpose he assembled the sixth general or ecumenical council, which was opened at Constantinople on the twenty-second of November of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned, and tranquillity in a great degree, restored to the church. Constantine enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet

which his piety, justice, and moderation deserved, the Saracens religiously observing the treaty between them and the empire, and the Lombards being, by their intestine broils, diverted from extending their conquests in Italy. In the beginning of the year 687, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the month of September, after having reigned seventeen years and some months ^a.

He was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth but sixteen years old. With him Abdelmelech, the new prince of the Saracens, confirmed the peace made with the empire, and at the same time proposed by his ambassadors a new treaty, in virtue of which Justinian was to repress the Maronites, who, by the frequent excursions from Mount Libanus, greatly harassed the Saracens; and Abdelmelech to pay him for his service a thousand summi a day, a horse and a slave. To this treaty the young enwary prince readily agreed, and immediately dispatched Magistrianus, with a chosen body of troops, against the Maronites, who he overcame, and put out of a condition of molesting the Saracens for a long time after. In the second year of his reign he marched in person against the Bulgarians, who had been allowed to settle in Lower Moesia, from them afterwards called Bulgaria, and, without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took several of their strong places: but the Bulgarians, soon recovering from their consternation, drew together their forces, fell upon the emperor, drove him out of their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and restore the captives he had taken. He was attended with success against the Sclavi or Slavonians, whom he defeated in several battles. These victories encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the Saracens, though Abdelmelech had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture.

At length, finding the emperor obstinately bent upon a war, he raised a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named Mohammed; who, causing the articles of the treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of Sebastopolis. In the engagement that ensued he was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the conqueror, had he not in the meantime gained over the com-

Yr. of Fl.
1035.
A. D. 687.
U. C. 1435.

Justinian
II.

*Put to
flight by
the Bulga-
rians.*

*Makes
war upon
the Sar-
acens.*

^a Cedren. ad Ann. Conf. 17. Niceph. cap. 3.

*mande

The Constantinopolitan History.

mander of the Scavi in the emperor's service ; whose unexpected desertion, with twenty thousand of his men, caused such a consternation in the Roman army, that they immediately fled, and were pursued with great slaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much difficulty reached Leucate, where, transported with rage, he caused the Scavi, or Sclavini, who had continued with him, to the number of ten thousand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea. From Leucate he returned to Constantinople, where, without betraying the least concern for his fate, disgrace, or attempting to restrain the victorious Saracens, by whom the abandoned provinces were harassed in a most cruel manner, he was wholly taken up in embellishing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the rest he erected a magnificent banqueting-house, from him called Justinianum, and a theatre near the palace, causing a church, dedicated to the virgin Mary, to be pulled down to make room for it.

*renders
himself
abusive.
The cruelt-
y of his
ministers.*

This sacrilegious encroachment gained him the ill-will of the people, whose aversion was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel conduct of his two chief ministers, Stephen and Theodotus. The former, by nation a Persian, caused several persons of distinction to be put to death, upon suspicions altogether groundless ; and in the end arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a most disrespectful manner Anastasia Augusta, the emperor's mother. Theodotus was by profession a monk ; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and entrusted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty Stephen himself, causing, under various pretences, such of the nobility as seemed to despise him, to be put to no less cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred which the people had on several occasions shewn to him, and his two favourite ministers, resolved to be beforehand with them ; and accordingly ordered Stephen the eunuch, and Rufus, one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of Constantinople in the night-time, and massacre them in their houses, beginning with the patriarch Calycinus. But this inhuman massacre was happily prevented in the following manner : Leontius, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the East, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in prison, was at this time set at liberty, and appointed governor of Greece, with orders to embark immediately for his government ; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind several of his friends came to visit him, and among the rest two monks, Gregory the superior of a monastery,

*Orders a
general
massacre.*

and

and Paul; who, as they were skilled in astrology, says Cedrenus, had foretold him, while he lay in prison, expecting every moment his last doom, that he should attain to the empire before his death. These, upon his expostulating with them for having deceived him with vain promises, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity to make good their prediction; which, they said, he might easily do, the emperor being universally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, who were ready to receive him as their deliverer. Leontius relished the scheme, and resolved to execute it without delay. Putting himself at the head of those soldiers who had been appointed to attend him into Greece, he broke open the prison, and being joined by many others who had been long detained there, led them to the forum, inviting the people as he went to meet him in the church of St. Sophia; which being soon crowded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the assembled multitude, "This is the day which the Lord hath made." The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed Leontius emperor, and hastening to the palace, seized on Justinian, carried him to the circus, and there, after many indignities, cut off his nose, and with one voice banished him to Chersona. At the same time Theodotus and Stephen were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive. This revolution happened in the tenth year of Justinian's reign, and 597 of the Christian æra.

The first year of Leontius's reign was not disturbed by any foreign wars, or domestic troubles. In the second, Sergius, who commanded the Roman troops in Lazica, betrayed that province to the Saracens, who invaded Africa, made themselves masters of Carthage, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by John the patrician, a man of great valour and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The Saracens, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to Africa, obliged John to fly to the sea-coast, where he embarked with the troops under his command for Constantinople. The fleet having touched at Crete, some of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to account for thus abandoning Africa to the enemy, prevailed upon the soldiers to revolt, and bestow the imperial dignity upon Apstmar, one of the generals of Leontius. Apstmar, or; as he was afterwards called, Tiberius, readily accepted the diadem; then sailing without loss of time to Constantinople, he surprised the

*Yr. of Fl.
3945.
A.D. 697.
U.C. 1445.
Justinian
deposed.*

Leontius.

*The Saracens mas-
ters of
Africa.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3948.
A.D. 700.
U.C. 1448.*

*Leontius
defeated,
and Apst-
mar made
emperor.*

city, took Leontius prisoner, and having caused his nose to be cut off, confined him to a monastery in Dalmatia, after he had reigned scarce three years.

Tiberius, thus raised to the empire, sent his brother Heraclius into Cappadocia, to watch the motions of the Saracens. He, taking advantage of some divisions that reigned among them, penetrated into Syria as far as Samosata, wasting all before him, and returned to Cappadocia loaded with booty, after having put to the sword, as we are told, two hundred thousand of the enemy. Notwithstanding this loss, the Saracens broke into the Roman territories the following year, and laid siege to Antiaradus in Syria; but not being able to master that place, they sat down before Mopsuestia in Cilicia, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of this reign, Boanes, farnamed Heptademon, betrayed Armenia to the Saracens; and Tiberius banished Philippicus, a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into Cephalaenia, for relating a dream, which the emperor interpreted to his own disadvantage.

The nobility of Armenia, taking arms against their new master, drove them out with great slaughter, and sent to Tiberius, demanding his assistance: but in the mean time Mohammed, entering Armenia with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged by this success, they invaded Cilicia once more, under the conduct of Azar; but were, to the number of ten thousand, either cut in pieces by Heraclius, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Constantinople¹. In the mean time Justinian, the deposed emperor, who had been confined to a monastery at Chersona, having betrayed a great desire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of Tiberius, and the evils attending a civil war, resolved to prevent them, by killing Justinian, or sending him in chains to Constantinople; but he, suspecting their design, fled privately to the chagan, or king of the Chazari, who received him in a manner suitable to his rank, and gave him his sister Theodora in marriage. That prince being soon after gained by the rich presents and large promises of Tiberius, undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate prince alive, or to send him his head. The design was revealed by one of the king's domestics to Theodora, and by her to her husband, who thereupon fled to Trebelis, king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was received with great demonstrations of kindness.

*who are
defeated in
Cilicia.*

*Armenia
betrayed to
the Sarac-
ens;*

Trebelis not only entertained the fugitive prince with extraordinary magnificence, but having raised a powerful army, marched with him directly to Constantinople, and laid siege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, reviling both princes from the walls; but the third day of the siege, some Bulgarians having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the rest; a circumstance which Tiberius no sooner knew, than he fled with his treasures to Apollonia, leaving *who is restored.* Justinian once more master of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus restored to his former dignity, he dismissed Trebelis, loaded with rich presents, and bestowed upon him part of the Roman dominions, called afterwards Zagoria. Having, after a diligent search, got into his power Tiberius Leontius, by whom he had been deposed, and Heraclius, the brother of Tiberius, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the shews sifting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconstant multitude repeating in the mean time that verse of the psalmist, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder." After this insulting pageantry, he caused their heads, and that of Heraclius, to be cut off. As for Callinicus the patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then banished him to Rome, that he might have the mortification of depending for his subsistence upon the bishop of that city, whose authority he had always opposed to the utmost of his power. The emperor, having now got rid of those whom he most dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury against all who had adhered to them, putting to death many citizens and soldiers, and dispeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once.

In the third year of his restoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to Trebelis, king of the Bulgarians, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded Thrace, at the head of a numerous army, with a design to recover the country he had yielded to him: but he was attended with no better success than his ingratitude deserved, his army being utterly defeated, and himself obliged to make his escape in a light vessel to Constantinople. Next year he equipped a powerful fleet, not with a design to oppose the Bulgarians, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of Chersona, and the Bosporans, who had resolved to dispatch him, or deliver him up to Tiberius, while he

*Trebelis,
king of the
Bulgari-
ans,
espouses the
cause of
Justinian:*

*Leontius
and Tibe-
rius put to
death.*

*Justinian
defeated by
the Bulga-
rians.*

^c Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Tibb. Aps. 7. Niceph. cap. 5.

lived in exile among them. Of board this fleet was embarked a numerous army, with express orders to put all the inhabitants of those parts to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, of guilty or innocent. These cruel orders were executed with the utmost barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the sword; some were by the cruel soldiery roasted alive, and others cast into the sea. The children however were spared; a circumstance which the inhuman emperor no sooner understood, than, transported with rage, he dispatched fresh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all massacred; but some of the leading men among the Bosporans having made their escape, and taken refuge in the country of the Chazari, with the assistance of that neighbouring nation, defeated in several encounters the emperor's forces; and renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed Philippicus, the son of Bardanes, who had been banished by Tiberius to Cappadocia, but happened to be then at Chersona.

*Philippicus
proclaimed
emperor.*

*Justinian
killed.*

Yr. of Fl.

3059.

A. D. 711.

U. C. 1459.

Philippi-

cus.

The Bulga-

rians break

into

Thrace.

The troops that were sent against them by Justinian, finding they could not reduce the city of Chersona, pursuant to his orders, and dreading the implacable disposition of the tyrant, resolved to consult their own safety, by acknowledging Philippicus; which they did accordingly, joining those against whom they had been sent. Philippicus, thus proclaimed and supported by two powerful armies, marched to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the emperor being then at Sinope in Paphlagonia, with a body of Thracians, against whom Philippicus dispatched Elias, prince of the Bosporans; who having gained over the Thracians, took the emperor prisoner, and cutting off his head, sent it to Philippicus, by whose order it was conveyed to Rome. Tiberius, the emperor's son by Theodora, took sanctuary in a church; but was dragged from the altar, which he grasped, and slain by Maurus a patrician, in the presence of Anastasia his grandmother^u. Such was the end of Justinian II. in the eighth year after his restoration, and 711 of the Christian era.

Philippicus had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than the Bulgarians, breaking unexpectedly into Thrace, advanced to the gates of Constantinople. Having laid waste the country, and put to the sword an incredible multitude of people, they returned, without the least opposition, loaded with booty. At the same time the Saracens, invading the Roman territories, committed dreadful ravages,

^u Theoph. ad Ann. Just. 8. Niceph. cap. 6.

took

took the city of Medæa, and several other places, and returned likewise unmolested, carrying with them great numbers of captives. These calamities rendering Philippicus odious to the people, one Rufus, at the instigation of two patricians, Theodorus, and Georgius commander of the troops in Thrace, entering the palace with a company of Thracians, while the emperor was reposing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiscovered ^w. The next day, being Whitsunday, the people assembling in the great church, proclaimed Artemius, chief secretary to Philippicus, who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch ^{Anastasius su. cœdis.} Artemius, or, as he was afterwards called, Anastasius, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon success in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous Catholic, he made it his chief study to heal the divisions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the state; for, in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed Leo, an Isaurian, a person of great experience in war, commander in chief of all his forces, and sent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of Syria, to protect Asia Minor against the inroads ^z of the Saracens. Being informed that the Saracens designed to lay siege to Constantinople, he caused a great number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years, to depart the city. News being brought, in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet had sailed to Phœnicia, he ordered his to assemble from the different ports of the empire at Rhodes, appointing John, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral punishing, with more severity than prudence, some refractory seamen, the rest matinied, and killed him: being well apprised they could by no other means avoid the punishment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, they declared Anastasius unworthy of the empire, and obliged Theodosius, a person of a mean extraction, and then receiver of the revenue at Adramyttium, to accept of the purple.

Anastasius, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled to Nice in Bithynia, leaving a strong garrison in Constantinople; which city Theodosius immediately besieged by sea and land, and reduced, after having continued six months before it. He had no sooner entered the city than he dispatched the magistrates and the patriarch to acquaint Anastasius with what had happened, who, upon promise of his

*The same
kill their
admiral,
and declare
Theodosius
emperor.*

^w *Thos. ad Ann. Phil. 2.*

^x *Niceph. cap. 7.*

Leo re-
walls.

life, renounced all claim to the empire, and taking the habit of a monk, delivered himself up to the new prince, by whom he was banished to Thessalonica, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years^r. Leo, whom Anastasius had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refusing to acknowledge Theodosius, drew together all the troops in the East, with a design, as he gave out, to restore the deposed emperor; but being persuaded by Masalnias, prince of the Saracens, to assume the purple, and powerfully assisted by Artavasdes an Armenian, a man of great interest in that country, he marched, at the head of a considerable army, to Nicomedia, where he met, defeated, and took prisoner the son of Theodosius, who had been sent against him. From Nicomedia he pursued his march to Constantinople, being acknowledged emperor in all the places through which he passed. Theodosius, finding it was in vain to contend with so powerful a rival, dispatched to him Germanus the patriarch, and some of the chief men in the senate, offering to resign the purple, on condition his life should be spared. To this proposal Leo readily agreed; and Theodosius, divesting himself of the purple, entered, with his son, into orders, after having reigned one year.

Theodosius abdicates.

Yr. of Fl. *Leo was received with loud acclamations at Constanti-*
3064. *nople, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of March of the*
A. D. 716. *present year 716, by the patriarch Germanus, after he had*
U. C. 1464. *engaged by a solemn oath to preserve, and, to the utmost*

Leo crown-
ed emperor.

of his power, defend the orthodox faith. He was a native of Isauria, of mean extraction, and had served some time in the station of a common soldier, from which he was raised by Justinian II. and admitted, on account of his stature, and comeliness of his person, amongst the spatarii, that is, the emperor's guards. Anastasius appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which post he held when he assumed the purple. He is distinguished from the other emperors bearing the name of Leo by the surname of Icomachus, which was given him on account of his combating the worship of images.

Pergamus taken by the Saracens;

In the first year of his reign, Masalnias, prince of the Saracens, at whose instigation he had assumed the purple, took by surprize the city of Pergamus. In the course of the next year, Solymon, one of the generals of the Saracens, broke into Thrace; but he dying, Alumar was appointed to command in his room, who lost ~~most~~ of his men by the severity of the winter. However, in the following spring he approached Constantinople, and invested it by

^r Cedren. ad Ann. Anast. 2.

land, while Zuphiam and Izeth, arriving with two powerful fleets, the one from Egypt and the other from Africa, blocked it up by sea; but most of their ships being destroyed, either by the artificial fire, of which we have spoken above, or by storm, they thought it adviseable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months. The calamities which the inhabitants suffered during the siege, can hardly be expressed; thirty thousand of them are said to have perished with hunger, and the like number to have been swept off by the plague.² Haumar, prince of the Saracens, highly provoked at the miscarriage of his armies and fleet before Constantinople, began to rage with great fury against the Christians in his dominions, forbidding them at first the exercise of their religion, and soon after commanding them, on pain of death, to renounce it, and embrace the faith of Mohammed. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profession of the religion of their insulting masters, while some few maintained, with unshaken constancy, the true religion, at the expence of their lives. Sergius, governor of Sicily, revolting, declared one Basilius, the son of Onomagulus, emperor, changing his name into that of Tiberius; but Paul, an officer of the household, who was sent against the usurper, having got him into his power, and caused his head to be struck off, restored the island to its former tranquility. Sergius, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge among the Lombards in Italy. At this period, the empress Maria was, to the unspeakable joy of the emperor, and the inhabitants of Constantinople, delivered of a son, named Constantine, and commonly nicknamed Copronymus, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism. Theophanes, the true author of the history intitled *Miscella*, which is falsely ascribed to *Paulus Diaconus*, tells us, that Germanus the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church³. The joy for the birth of the young prince was somewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of Bulgarians, headed by the late emperor Anastasius, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon those Barbarians to acknowlege him for emperor, and support his claim to the crown. They laid siege to Constantinople, hoping, by means of the partisans of Anastasius, among whom were several persons of great distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting with a vigor-

Yr. of 1
3067.
A. D. 71
U.C. 146

who besiege Constantinopl. but are forced to abandon the enterprize.

They persecute the Christians

Sergius revolts in Sicily; but is cut off.

Constantine Copronymus born.

Anastasius attempts to resume the empire.

² Cedr. Ann. Leon. 2. Beda de Sex. Æstat. Paul Diacon, lib. vi. cap. 47. ³ Hist. Miscel. p. 74.

*Constantine crowned emperor.*ous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate Anastasius, and delivered him up the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of Theffalonica^b. Leo, having happily weathered this storm, caused his son Constantine to be solemnly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to his posterity^c. In the mean time the Saracens, under the conduct of their new prince Ized, who had succeeded Haumar, having equipped a numerous fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and landing in Sardinia, raged with unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another Ized, surnamed Mualabis, having raised an insurrection in Persia, the emperor was more at leisure to reform several abuses, which had crept into the court and state under the former emperors.

Leo's edict against images. In the tenth year of his reign, and 726 of the Christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed from the churches, and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the East by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus; but Leo, having deposed Germanus, and raised Anastasius to the see of Constantinople in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at Constantinople, and the images to be destroyed by his officers throughout the city. The people, struck with horror at seeing the images of our Saviour and his saints thus insulted, and either torn in pieces, or burnt by the emperor's officers, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon Leo's statues and images, flew to the palace: being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to disperse, and suffer the edict to take place.

A tumult at Constantinople. But in the West, especially in Italy, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; a circumstance which gave Luitprand, king of the Lombards, an opportunity of seizing Ravenna, and several other cities of the exarchate. He was however soon after driven out by the Venetians, who, at that time, made a figure in Italy.

Gregory II. then pope, or bishop of Rome, jealous of the growing power of the Lombards, had, by a letter to Ursus duke of Venice, prevailed upon him to espouse the interest of the emperor, and lead his forces against Ravenna; which city he surprised, before Luitprand, who was then at Pavia,

^b Niceph. cap. 10. 11.

^c Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Leon. 5.

had

had the least notice or suspicion of his design. Gregory had, from the very beginning, opposed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worship of images; and now, presuming upon the eminent service he had rendered to the empire, he wrote a long letter to Leo, earnestly intreating him to revoke it. The emperor, well apprised, that Gregory had been prompted by his own interest, and not by that of the empire, to prevent the Lombards from making new conquests in Italy, was exasperated to such a degree against him, for continuing still to oppose his edict, that he sent private orders to his officers in Italy, especially to Paul, exarch of Ravenna, and to Mauritius, governor, or as he was then styled, duke of Rome, injoining them to get Gregory into their power, and send him dead or alive to Constantinople. The people of Rome, who had a great veneration for their bishop, discovering the design, guarded him so carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three assassins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, a fate which the third escaped, by taking sanctuary in a monastery, and embracing a religious life. Gregory, finding himself thus supported by the people of Rome, solemnly excommunicated the exarch, for publishing, and attempting to put in execution, the emperor's edict, writing at the same time letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the catholic faith, and oppose, with all their might, the execution of the impious and heretical edict.

These letters made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of Italy, though of different interests, and often at war with each other, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent the execution of the imperial edict. The people of Rome, and those of the Pentapolis, now Marca d' Ancona, pulling down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an iconoclast, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; they had even some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to Constantinople: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In Ravenna the people rose in defence of the images against Paul the exarch; and having killed him, and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to Luitprand king of the Lombards, a politic prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In Naples the people took arms against Exhi-

*Gregory II.
opposes the
emperor's
edict.*

*Leo at-
tempts up-
on his life.*

*The exarch
excommu-
nicated.*

*The people
of Italy
revolt.*

*Ravenna
submits to
the Lom-
bards.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

The inhabitants of Naples kill their governor.

Iaratus their duke (for Naples was then governed by dukes sent from Constantinople), and murdered him, with his son Adriap, and one of his chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the Lombards, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to Leo, and received Peter, who was appointed duke of Naples in the room of Exhilaratus.

The Romans revolt.

The people of Rome, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images, and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, resolved to renounce their allegiance to Leo, and to continue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the Lombards, whom they had too much reason to distrust^d.

Leo was wholly taken up; during the remaining part of his long reign, in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty against those who refused to comply with his edict; while the Saracens, breaking into the eastern provinces, laid them waste without controul.

Constantine married to Irene.

Leo's fleet shipwrecked.

Leo dies, and is succeeded by his son.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, and 733 of the Christian æra, he married his son Constantine to the daughter of the king of Chazari, after she had been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and received at her baptism the name of Irene, a word signifying in the Greek tongue *peace*. The same year the emperor caused a fleet to be equipped, with a design to chastise and bring back to their duty the Romans, and other people of Italy, who had revolted^e or occasion of the edict against images; but the fleet being shipwrecked in the Adriatic sea, Leo could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppose the execution of his edict, than by causing the revenues of the Roman see in Calabria and Sicily to be confiscated^f. In the last year of Leo's reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at Constantinople, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and private houses, burying great numbers of people under the ruins.

Not long after this calamity Leo died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was succeeded by his son Constantine, who no sooner saw himself sole master of the empire than he led an army against

^d Anast. in Greg. II. Paul. Diac. lib. vi. Sigon. ad Ann. 725, 726. Epist. 1 & 2 Greg. ad Leon. ^e Theoph. ad Ann. Leon. 17.th

the Saracens, who had made an irruption into Asia. In his absence Artabazdus, who had married his sister, reported that he was dead ; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people, and proclaimed emperor, he caused the sons of Constantine to be secured ; but as he knew that the report he had industriously spread of Constantine's death would be soon contradicted, he began to consult with the patriarch Anastasius, by what other means he might keep the people steady in their allegiance to him. Anastasius had been a zealous iconoclast in the late reign ; but to ingratiate himself with Artabazdus, who had a great veneration for images, and to estrange the minds of the people from Constantine, he assembled them in the great church ; and holding in his hand the wood of the holy cross, he took the following oath : " By him who died upon this wood I swear, that Constantine one day addressed me with these words : I do not believe him to be the Son of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere man ; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner as Mary my mother was delivered of me." This deposition of the patriarch, whether true or false, made such an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately deposed Constantine with one consent, and with repeated acclamations saluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus, his eldest son, for his partner in the empire ^f. This transaction gave rise to a civil war, the greatest, says Cedrenus, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that had happened since the beginning of the world. All we know of it is, that Artabazdus, and his son Nicephorus, being defeated by Constantine in several encounters, were besieged in Constantinople ; which city resisted, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to submit. Artabazdus and his two sons were taken, and delivered to the emperor, who caused their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and either banished, maimed, or put to death all those who had been concerned in the revolt. Anastasius the patriarch was by the emperor's orders publicly scourged, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the most frequented streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the tail. However, the time-serving prelate was continued in his see, because the emperor could not find a worse, says Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room ^g.

Constantine having thus suppressed his enemies at home, resolved to march once more against the Saracens, who

Yr. of Fl.
3090.
A. D. 742.
U.C. 1490.

Artabazdus revolts.

^f Theoph. ad Ann. Conft. 1.

^g Ibid. 3.

were

Constantius recovers several places from the Saracens. were at war among themselves. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered Syria ; and having overthrown the enemy in several encounters, made himself master of Germanicia, and some other fortresses, which had been long in their hands. The Saracens, notwithstanding their domestic quarrels, in order to divert the emperor from pursuing his conquests in Syria, assembled a numerous fleet, which steered its course to the island of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ships of war, and a great number of transports with land-forces on board. But the Roman fleet coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that island, destroyed the whole navy, except three ships, which they suffered to escape with the news of so great a calamity.

Dreadful earthquakes.

A violent plague.

However, the emperor was diverted from pursuing the advantages that might have thence accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and were by far the most destructive that had been known in any age. In Syria and Palestine several cities were swallowed up, others entirely ruined, and some, if we may give credit to Nicephorus, removed, without any considerable damage, six miles and upwards from their former seats. At the same time the heavens were overcast with an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the fourth of August to the first of October, there being little or no distinction, during that period, between day and night. This calamity was followed by another still more terrible, a plague, which breaking out in Calabria, soon spread all over Sicily, Greece, the islands in the Ægean sea, and at length reached Constantinople, where it raged for three years with such fury, that the living were no more than sufficient to bury the dead. The plague no sooner ceased than Constantine, having caused his son Leo, then scarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched, with what forces he could draw together, into Armenia ; and taking advantage of the divisions that still reigned among the Saracens, made himself master of Miletene, Theodosiopolis, and several other places.

He was diverted from pursuing his conquests in the East, by a sudden irruption of the Bulgarians, who, provoked at the emperor's causing some forts to be built on the frontiers of Thrace, broke into that province, and advancing as far as the long wall, laid waste the whole country. Constantine having recalled his forces from the East, marched against them in person ; but being surprised by the enemy

in a narrow pass, called Beragaba, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to save himself by flight to Constantinople¹. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict published by his father against images, forbidding, at the same time, any worship to be paid to the saints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the bishops as opposed the execution of this edict were driven from their fees; and the monks, who preached against it either sent into banishment, or sentenced to death. At the same time an edict was published in Constantinople, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any one to embrace a monastic life; at Constantinople most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets. Of this persecution the reader will find a more particular and distinct account in the ecclesiastic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place². The twenty-third year of Constantine's reign is remarkable for an extraordinary frost, and several prodigies (C). Constantine continued to persecute, with great severity, those who appeared most zealous and forward in the worship of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the Bulgarians; who breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every where great cruelties: but Constantine marching in person against them, cut them off, and then returned in triumph to Constantinople. This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one Christian perished in it.

However, he owed the victory, it seems, to the treachery of some Bulgarians, whom Elerich their king discovered by the following device: he wrote to Constantinople, pretending a desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at Constantinople; for which purpose, he begged the emperor to send him a safe-conduct, and at the same time to acquaint him what friends he had amongst the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Constantinople, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. In consequence of this address, Constantine, not suspecting any

¹ Theoph. ad Ann. Conft. 19.
&c. ad Ann. Conft. 19, 23.

² Vide Theoph. Cedren.

(C) It began on the first of October, and lasted till near the end of February. At Constantinople, both seas were frozen for a hundred miles

from the shore, the ice being so thick as to bear the heaviest carriages, and covered with snow twenty cubits deep.

deceit,

Constantine
defeated by
the Bulga-
rians.

A surpris-
ing frost.

Constantine
defeats the
Bulga-
rians.

deceit, sent him a list of the names of those who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no sooner received than he caused them all to be put to death. The

Yr. of Fl. emperor, finding himself thus deluded, resolved, at all events, to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly having employed the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the spring against Elerich; but

**Marches
against
them; but
dies.**

**His cha-
racter.**

As Constantine was a most zealous iconoclast, and did all that lay in his power to suppress the worship of the saints, their images and relics, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the other writers of those times, represent him in the blackest colours, biased in some measure, we may reasonably suppose, by passion, interest, and prejudice. However, we must allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well skilled in war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. As for the great severity which he exerted against such as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worship images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the Christian religion. He defended the empire, with equal bravery and success, against the Saracens and Bulgarians; but was not in a condition to prevent the loss of the greater part of his dominions in Italy.

Leo III. Constantine was succeeded in the empire by his son Leo, who, soon after his accession, took his son Constantine, whom he had by Irene, for his partner in the empire, causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of nobilissimi, on his two brothers Anthemius and Eudoxius, Nicephorus, his second brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time^m. Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, who had done great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the Christian religion, resigned his crown, and repaired to Constantinople, where he was received by Leo with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress Ireneⁿ.

In the third year of Leo's reign, some advantages were

**Elerich
king of the
Bulgarians
embraces
the Chris-
tian reli-
gion.**

^l Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Conſt. 25.
Leon. 1.

ⁿ Idem. ad Ann. 2.

^m Theoph. ad Ann.

gained by the emperor's forces over the Saracens, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the Christians, causing all their churches in Syria to be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. Leo, who had hitherto dissembled his real sentiments concerning the worship of images, openly declared against that superstitious and idolatrous practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the saints, the Virgin Mary, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress Irene, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to her to be racked to death^o. He did not long outlive them, being soon after seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the sixteenth of September 771, after having reigned five years *His death.* and ten days.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed Porphyrogenitus, because he was born while his father was emperor; but as he was then only ten years old, his mother Irene took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned forty days, when some of the senators and great officers conspired against him, with a design to prefer his uncle Nicephorus to the imperial dignity; but Irene, having seasonably discovered the plot, caused the chief authors of it to be seized, and confined to different islands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awaked by this danger she obliged all the late emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and administer the sacrament to the people on Christmas-day, when she and her son restored to the church the crown of Heraclius, which Lep had seized. The Saracens, upon the news of Leo's death, broke into the eastern provinces; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which Irene had, upon the first notice of their motions, dispatched against them^p. The empress, in order to procure a strong alliance by the marriage of her son, sent ambassadors into France, to propose a match between him and the daughter of Charles king of that country, who was afterwards surnamed the Great, and crowned emperor of the West. The proposal being well received by Charles, an eunuch, named Eliseus, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named Rotdrudris, the Greek tongue, and instruct her in the manners and customs of the Greeks^q. About this time Helpidius, governor of Sicily, *Helpidius revolts.* revolted; but was driven out of the island by Theodorus, a

*Constantine
Porphyro-
genitus,
and Irene.*

*A conspi-
racy discov-
ered, and
the conspi-
rators pun-
ished.*

^o Theoph. ad Ann. 5. Cedren. in Comp. Annal. ad Ann. Conf. 1.

^p Theoph.

^q Idem ad Ann. 2.

patrician,

A pension paid to the Saracens.

patriciaⁿ, whom Irene had sent with a powerful fleet against him, and obliged to take refuge among the Saracens in Africa, who acknowledging him for emperor in opposition to Constantine, fell with such fury upon the eastern provinces, that Irene was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herself to pay them an annual pension.

The peace with the Saracens was scarce concluded, when the Slavi or Sclavini, breaking into Greece and Peloponnesus, seized on those countries. Against them the empress dispatched Saturcius, a patrician, who overcame them in several battles, but suffered them to remain in the countries they had seized, upon their promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 779 the match between Constantine and Rotdrudris, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by Irene, who obliged her son, much against his inclination, to marry a woman of mean descent, named Mary, by birth an Armenian or Paphlagonian, and the niece or daughter of one Philaretus, remarkable for his good-nature and charitable disposition. Some ascribe the dissolution of the match with Rotdrudris, to the ambition of Irene, apprehending that Constantine would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empress was provoked against Charles on account of his invading the dukedom of Benevento in Italy, which she had taken under her protection. However, the conduct of the empress, on that occasion, disengaged her son to such a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, apprised of the misunderstanding between him and his mother, and desirous of getting the power into their own hands, took care to remind him, that he was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counsels of a woman.

Misunderstanding between Constantine and Irene.

Constantine hearkening to their insinuations, they resolved to seize on Saturcius, who governed with an absolute sway, as Irene's first minister, and after having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. Saturcius having notice of the design as soon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to Irene, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastised him with her own hands, and having confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge Constantine, but her alone, for their sovereign, so long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in the different provinces,

Irene obliges the senate and soldiery to take an oath of allegiance to her.

provinces, except some legions in Armenia, who resolutely declared they would adhere to Constantine, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the Armenian legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim Constantine again, and demand with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. Irene, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and soldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. Constantine, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled, and advanced to the first employments, such as had been banished on his account, fending into exile Saturcius, and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly scourged. As for Irene, he led her, with great respect, out of the palace, and attended her in person to a house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure¹.

*Constantine
deprives
her of the
adminis-
tration.*

Next year the emperor marched, at the head of a considerable army, against the Bulgarians, who had invaded the empire, and engaged them in Thrace; but with what success is uncertain: for Cedrenus writes, that he gained a great victory; but Zonaras affirms, that the two armies parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to Constantinople, the friends of Irene, partly by extolling her wisdom, prudence, and experience in public affairs, partly by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, prevailed upon him to recall his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; which, however, the Armenian legions could never be induced to acknowledge². Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew, against the Bulgarians, encouraged by some astrologers, who promised him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to obtain it, the Bulgarians, taking advantage of his ill-grounded security, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of the army, and the most considerable men in the empire, lost their lives in the battle together with Pancratius, who, by his absurd calculations, had contributed to the defeat: The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this disaster, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition, by insinuating, that the soldiers quartered in Constantinople had formed a design of preferring Nicephorus to the empire; an information which

*Irene re-
called.*

*The empe-
ror de-
feat-
ed by the
Bulgar-
ians.*

¹ Cedren. ad Ann. Confl. 10. ² Theoph. ad Ann. Confl. fol. 2.

His cruelty. heightened his jealousy to such a degree, that he not only caused his eyes to be put out^s but those likewise of his other uncles, Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudocimus, though nothing had been alleged against them. Alexius Mofoles, whom the Armenian legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration of Irene, was at her instigation treated with the like severity; which so provoked those legions, that they refused to obey Camilianus, appointed by the emperor to command them. Constantianus, Artaseras, and Chrysochires, were sent against him at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions having defeated and taken them prisoners, ordered, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; an outrage which so provoked Constantine, that he marched against them in person, and having defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their officers to death, causing the common soldiers to be led in chains to Constantinople, and conveyed from thence into different islands^t.

*The Arme-
nian le-
gions
broken and
dispersed.*

*Constantine
divorces
Mary, and
marries
Theodota.*

The Armenian legions, who had always suspected, and been ready to oppose the ambitious designs of Irene, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destitute of that support, upon such measures as she thought would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress Mary, whom she had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, she advised him to divorce her, and marry Theodota or Theodecta, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empress at Constantinople, where the nuptials was solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. This marriage occasioned contests among the clergy, concerning the lawfulness of it, in which Irene artfully sided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them secretly to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the Saracens and Bulgarians prevented the people from revolting, though privately instigated by Irene and her emissaries. The Saracens had broken into Cilicia, but were driven back with great loss by the troops which Constantine seasonably dispatched against them. As for the Bulgarians, Cardamates their king having sent ambassadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of Constantinople, and take it by force, if it was refused; Constantine replied, that since he was advanced in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly, he

^s Theoph. ad Ann. 3.

marched

marched against him, at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which the Barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Upon his return to Constantinople, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of Prusa, in Bithynia, where he had not been long, when news were brought him that the empress Theodota was delivered of a son; at which he was so overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to Constantinople. Irene, taking advantage of his absence, gained the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose Constantine, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them returning to Constantinople, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of Porphyra, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in such a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after, in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone and ten with his mother.^{w.}

*He puts the
Bulgarians
to flight.*

*He is mur-
dered.*

Nicephorus and Christopher, her husband's brothers, hearing of the death of Constantine, took sanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and banished to Athens, where they are said to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raise disturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of Leo Isauricus; so that no one was now left to dispute with Irene her title to the empire. She no sooner received intelligence of the death of her son, than leaving Prusa, she repaired to Constantinople; which she entered in a gilded chariot drawn by four horses, attended by several patricians, who waited as her slaves on either side, while she threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation*. In the mean time the Saracens, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces; and having defeated the forces Irene sent against them, entered Thrace, made their excursions to the gates of Constantinople, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In 789, the second of Irene's reign, her great favourite Saturacius, prompted by his boundless ambition, conspired against her, with a design to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, Irene, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herself, in consideration of his former services, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empress shewed him, joined

*Yr. of Fl.
3110.
A. D. 788.
U.C. 150.*

*Irene pro-
claimed
empress.*

*Saturacius
conspires
against
her.*

to a lively sense of his ingratitude to her, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after.

*She studies
to gain the
affections
of the peo-
ple.*

Irene, finding she could not depend even upon those whom she thought she had most reason to confide in, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people. With this view, she remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of Constantinople, encouraged commerce, and, what most of all obliged the people, promoted, to the utmost of her power, the worship of images, causing them to be set up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted against them by former emperors. In 793, Charles, surnamed the Great, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace between him and Irene. To these ambassadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at Constantinople. The ambassadors of Charles, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and Irene, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. Irene readily entered into the negotiation; but Aetius, a eunuch,

*A match
proposed
between
Irene and
Charles the
Great,*

*which is
opposed by
Aetius.*

*The nobi-
lity revolt,
and set up
Nicepho-
rus.*

who bore the chief sway at court, by daily starting new difficulties, deferred, from time to time, the conclusion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his defect, he had been long labouring secretly to procure it for his brother Leo, at that time governor of Thrace and Macedonia; but being convinced that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between Irene and so powerful and warlike a prince take place, he endeavoured to divert the empress from it, at least to protract the negotiation, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design.

In the meantime the nobility, who hated Aetius, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendant, might, in the sequel, be prevailed upon to take Leo for her partner in the empire, resolved to promote Nicephorus, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by insinuating, that Irene not only designed to marry Charles, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the West, by which means the Eastern empire would soon become a province to the new empire of the West, they assembled at night, and went in a large

Yr. of Fl. 315.
A. D. 793.
U. C. 1515.

body to the palace. There they seized Irene without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted Nicephorus, their new emperor, with the usual solemnity, to the great church, where he was crowned

crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom Irene had obliged, by several acts of generosity, uttering repreaches and curses against him. Nicephorus treated Irene with great civility and respect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover the place where her treasures lay concealed; then, contrary to his solemn promise, he confined her to a monastery, which she had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of Lesbos, where she died of grief ^y. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her son, by all the writers of those times, no doubt on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took to suppress the heresy, as it was then called, of the iconoclasts. She built a great many monasteries and hospitals for the relief of the poor and aged; and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of those times are to be credited, both the esteem and affection of her subjects. Her great attachment to the see of Rome, and the indefatigable pains she took to get the doctrine of the iconoclasts condemned in the second council of Nice, by her assembled for that purpose, have so far biased some writers, that they have not been ashamed to vindicate, even by texts of Scripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her son, who perhaps deserved such treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. Irene was thus deposed in 793, after having reigned ten years with her son and five alone.



C H A P. •LXIX.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Promotion of Nicephorus to the Death of Basilus II.

THE ambassadors who had been sent by Charles the Great, to propose a marriage between him and the empress Irene, in order to unite once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution which happened during their stay in Constantinople, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were enjoined to conclude a

^y Theoph. ad Ann. Niceph. 2.

Concludes a treaty with Charles the Great. firm and lasting peace with the Eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being apprised of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of Charles, received his ambassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which Charles was acknowledged emperor of the West; and all Italy, to the rivers Vulturnus and Aufidus, yielded to him. Nicephorus, in the third year of his reign, caused Nicetas Triphyllius, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, suspicious, and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged Bardanes, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the title of emperor. Michael and Leo, two officers of great reputation in the army, joined him at first; but soon after finding him unequal to so great a charge, they went over to Nicephorus, who raised them to the first posts in the army. Bardanes, thus forsaken by his friends, sent a submissive message to Nicephorus; and, upon his promising to pardon him, retired to a monastery. The emperor, pretending to be entirely reconciled, invited him in a friendly manner to Constantinople; but, on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by persons employed for that purpose. The emperor, to prevent any future attempt of the like nature, and secure the crown to his family, took his son Saturacius for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned with the usual solemnity.

Nicephorus defeated. Having thus settled his affairs at home, he marched against the Saracens, who had broken into the eastern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated, and himself narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Next year the Saracens, to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire again; and advancing, without opposition, as far as Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Minor, made themselves masters of that city, and several other fortified places, extending their ravages to the gates of Ancyra in Galatia. Nicephorus marched against them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to venture an engagement, he dispatched ambassadors with rich presents to Aaron their kalif, who, with difficulty, was prevailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: that the emperor should pay to the Saracens a yearly tribute of thirty thousand pieces of gold, besides three thousand for his own head, and as many for that of his son; and that he should not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled.

Concludes a dishonourable peace with the Saracens.

Nicephorus.

Nicephorus agreed to these terms ; but the enemy was no sooner retired than, in violation of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demolished ; a circumstance which so provoked the Saracens, that they returned, and raged with more fury than ever. They afterwards made a descent upon Rhodes, and took a great number of prisoners ; but their fleet suffered much by a violent storm, which overtook them as they were returning home². The same year Nicephorus married his son Saturacius to Theophania, a near relation of the late empress Irene, though she had been some time before contracted to another ; a step which gave occasion to great complaints, and encouraged some to conspire against him : but they were all detected and punished with the utmost severity ; many persons of great distinction, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, being, upon bare suspitions, dragged to prison, and there either put to death, or racked with the greatest cruelty.

They invade the empire anew.

In the seventh year of his reign the Bulgarians, making Yr. of Fl. an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of Crumus their king, surprised Sardica, a city of Moesia, and put the whole garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. Nicephorus marched against them with a considerable army ; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, instead of pursuing them, he returned to Constantinople, and imposed a new tribute upon the city for repairing Sardica ; which incensed them to such a degree, that they rose in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but were repulsed by the emperor's guards with great slaughter. In the ninth year of his reign he raised a powerful army, and marching at the head of it, entered the country of the Bulgarians, which he ravaged with fire and sword. Crumus, their king, alarmed at his approach, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire : but Nicephorus, rejecting them with indignation, pursued his ravages, wasting the country, destroying the cities, and massacring all the inhabitants who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Crumus, sensibly affected with the calamities of his subjects, sent the emperor a second submissive message, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country : but Nicephorus dismissing the ambassadors with scorn, Crumus, impelled by despair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp ; and having forced it, in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor *He is defeated and slain.*

*A.D. 800.
U.C. 1522.*

The Bulgarians take Sardica.

Nicephorus ravages the country of the Bulgarians.

Yr. of Fl. himself, a great number of patricians, and most of the chief officers. Saturacius received a dangerous wound in the neck, but escaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands. The body of Nicephorus being found among the slain, Crumus caused his head to be cut off; and, after having kept it for some time exposed to the view of the soldiery, he inclosed the skull in silver, and made use of it instead of a cup^a. Such was the end of Nicephorus, after having reigned eight years, as many months, and twenty-six days. He is said to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the Manichees, to have denied Providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries^b.

Saturacius. Saturacius fled to Adrianople, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers who had escaped the general slaughter. Not being in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and knowing himself to be universally hated by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife Theophania. In the mean time the senate caused Michael, who had married Procopia, sister to Saturacius, to be proclaimed emperor in the circus;

Michael proclaimed emperor. a circumstance which Saturacius no sooner understood than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died soon after, having reigned two months and ten days. Michael, mindful of the oath he had taken to Nicephorus and his son, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed, that Saturacius, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had resolved to deprive him of his right, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by Nicephorus the patriarch, after he had by a solemn promise under his own hand obliged him to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding Christian blood^c. The new emperor, a few days after, caused his wife Procopia to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son Theophylact, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce seated on his throne, when the Saracens broke into the empire on one side, and the Bulgarians on the other.

Takes his son for his colleague. The former were defeated and driven back by Leo, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the Bulgarians Michael marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and himself

Yr. of Fl. A.D. 805. U.C. 1313.

^a Theoph. ad Ann. Niceph. 9
Theoph. ad Ann. Niceph. 9.

^b Cedren. Zonar. in Niceph.

^c obliged

obliged to fly with shame and disgrace to Constantinople. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to such a degree, that he resolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly pressed Leo to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to Michael, and at the same time sensible of the dangerous state of affairs, was with difficulty prevailed upon to comply with his request, though backed by the intreaties of the magistrates, the soldiery, and the patriarch. Michael no sooner understood that Leo had suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired with his wife Procozia, and his children, to the monastery of Pharus, where he took the monastic habit on the eleventh of July, 803, after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days⁴.

*Defeated
by the Bul-
garians,
and resigns
the empire.*

The new emperor, upon his arrival at Constantinople, took care to have Michael and his wife separated : he therefore confined him to a monastery on the island Prota, and banished Procozia, with her children, to another place, having first caused Theophylact, their eldest son, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue⁵. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the Bulgarians, elated with their late success, entered Thrace, and ravaged the country without mercy. Leo, having drawn together his forces, offered them battle ; which they not declining, great numbers were slain on both sides, but at length the Romans were put to the rout. As they were pursued by the enemy in great disorder, Leo, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexpectedly upon the Barbarians with a reserve of chosen men who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an entire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by name Crumus, amogg the former ; but others say he was only wounded. It is certain, that the Bulgarians were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after⁶. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the Bulgarians or the Saracens, who were at variance among themselves, applied himself wholly to the suppression of image-worship. He enforced the observance of the council held at Constantinople, under Constantinus Copronymus, and published an edict forbidding any worship to be paid to images, and com-

*He gains
a complete
victory
over the
Bul-
garians.*

*He oppo-
sites
the wor-
ship of
images.*

⁴ Theoph. ad Ann. Mich. 2.
⁵ Idem ibid.

Zonar, Cedren. in Mich.

manding them to be removed from the churches. Nicephorus the patriarch, Nicetas a patrician, and one of the empress Irene's relations, Theodorus a monk in great reputation, Theophanes the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict.

*Balbus
conspiring
against
him, is
jailed and
condemned.*

While he was wholly intent upon redressing the abuses both in church and state, Michael, surnamed Balbus; or the Stammerer, whom he had preferred to the first employments, conspired against him, with a design to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head; but the plot being discovered, Michael was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. As the officers were leading him, on Christmas eve, to the place of execution, the empress Theodosia, upbraiding her husband with cruelty and irreligion for not respecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the blessed sacrament, prevailed upon him to respite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his escape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himself: but Michael, having, by means of some religious persons, who had been admitted to him with the emperor's permission, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to discover them to Leo, unless they speedily procured his release, alarmed them to such a degree, that they resolved, without loss of time, to put their design in execution. Accordingly, taking themselves with those who performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel till the emperor came to his devotions; when, upon a signal agreed on beforehand, they started up, but, by mistake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the person who presided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. Leo, in the mean time, apprised of their design, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conspirators, now sensible of their mistake; but defended himself with the chain of the incensory, or, as some write, with the cross, till one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conspirators dispatched him with many wounds, and in the end struck off his head.

*Leo mur-
dered.*

*Yr. of Fl.
A.D. 811.
U.C. 751.* Such was the end of Leo IV. after he had reigned seven years, five months, and fourteen days. He is allowed, even by such as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in suppressing the worship of images, to have been a vir-

*His char-
acter.* *that in Taras.* Theodor. Studites, ep. lxi. *Leo Grammat,* in *Leon.*

lant and active prince; and to have reformed many abuses that had long prevailed in the state. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone; was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch Nicephorus, who had been banished by him, on hearing the news of his death, could not help owning that he was a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there exposed for some time to public view. The conspirators, having seized on the empress Theodosia, confined her to a monastery, and banished her four sons, Sabbatius called also Constantine, Basil, Gregory, and Theodosius, to the island Prota, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by Michael's order, under which cruel operation Theodosius died. Michael being set at liberty, and conducted by the conspirators from the prison to the palace, placed himself upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he still was, with his irons, the keys being no where found: at length being disengaged, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Balbus
proclaimed
emperor.

Michael, thus raised to the empire, was a native of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, inhabited chiefly by Jews and such Christians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. Michael himself observed the Jewish sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and held several other tenets condemned by the Catholic church ^b. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, who had been banished by Leo for not complying with his edict forbidding the worship of images, but at the same time summoned them to dispute, in a council at Constantinople, the point in question. With this summons they refused to comply, alleging, that as the worshipping of images had been already approved of and established by a general council, it could admit of no dispute. This answer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheless was so far from proceeding with rigour against them, that he indulged them in the use of images without the city. In the second year of his reign, a civil war broke out in the East, which involved the empire in endless calamities. It was raised by one Thomas, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to some, he was meanly born, and at first a menial servant to a senator at Constantinople, whose wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, fled to the Saracens, among whom, after he

He is an
enemy to
images.

Thomas
revolts in
the East.

The Constantinopolitan History.

Makes
himself
master of
Asia and
Syria.

Besieges
Constantinople.

had continued for the space of twenty-five years, professing their religion, he obtained of their calif a considerable body of troops, boasting that he could easily subdue the whole Roman empire. The better to entice the Romans over to his interest, he gave out, that he was Constantine, the son of Irene. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the East, and inviolably attached to Leo, whose death he resolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. He was a man of a grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and acceptable to the soldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eastern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated Michael, he soon raised a very numerous army, and over-ran, without control, all Asia, seizing every where on the public revenues, and plundering such cities as refused to obey his commands.

And now being master of all Asia and Syria, he assumed the purple and diadem, and caused himself to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of Antioch. Michael, in the mean time, dispatched all the troops he could assemble against him; but Thomas, meeting them in Asia, gave them a total overthrow. Having with incredible expedition fitted out a strong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then crossing over into Thrace, appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople, not doubting but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his first approach. But, to his great surprize, they received him with opprobrious language, repulsed him in two successive attacks, and in several sallies killed great numbers of his men. Thomas made the necessary preparations for a third assault; being resolved to make an extraordinary effort, and attack the city at the same time by sea and land. But a violent storm arising, when he was upon the point of giving the signal, his fleet was dispersed, and his battering engines overturned, and rendered quite useless. This disappointment, and some successful sallies of the besieged, obliged him, as the season was already far advanced, to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a resolution to return before the city early in the spring; when he resumed his operations accordingly: but Michael having in the mean time equipped a fleet, and raised a land-army, he met with greater opposition at his return than he had experienced before. His army was routed with great slaughter in a sally, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor.

The usurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience, named Gregory, who having been banished

banished by Michael to the Island of Scirus, because he was a near relation of Leo, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the usurper, and been entrusted by him with the command of twelve thousand men ; but now observing that fortune, which had hitherto attended Thomas in all his undertakings, began to forsake him, he resolved to make his peace with Michael, the rather because his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on so privately but Thomas had timely notice of it, who leaving a sufficient number of troops before Constantinople to carry on the siege, led the rest against Gregory ; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to pursue the siege. In the mean time Mortagon, king of the Bulgarians, hearing the emperor was besieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or desirous of gaining his friendship, marched at the head of a numerous army to his assistance. Thomas, when informed of his approach, was some time in suspense, whether he should continue the siege, or march with all his forces against the Barbarians ; but at length resolved on the latter expedition. Accordingly breaking up the siege, he met and engaged the Bulgarians at a place called Cedoctus, but was defeated with great slaughter.

*Defeats
and puts to
death Gre-
gory, who
designed to
betray him.*

*Is defeated
by the Bul-
garians.*

Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before Constantinople revolted to the emperor ; a defection which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing the siege, and retire to Diabesis, a place distant a few furlongs from the city ; whence by his parties he laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped in this situation, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out against him, under the command of Caſcelas and Olbianus, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, most of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. Thomas, with great difficulty, escaped to Adrianople, where he was immediately besieged by the emperor's forces, and at length delivered up to Michael by his own people, no longer able to endure the famine, and the unpeakable hardships to which they were reduced. The emperor, having caused his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an ass round the camp. He died soon after in the utmost agony. Anastasius, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life, which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor

*Is put to
death.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

peror by the inhabitants of Byrra, met with the same treatment his father had undergone. Pavium and Heraclea, two maritime cities of Thrace, which Thomas had seized, refused to submit, not so much out of affection to him, as from hatred to the emperor, on account of his opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles continued to hold out for some time; but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war was entirely extinguished !

The Saracens, who had settled in Spain, and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, equipped several ships, and sent them in quest of some fruitful island, in which they might plant a colony. Apochapsus, who commanded this squadron, having ravaged most of the islands in the Mediterranean without opposition, touched in the end at Crete; and being much pleased with the fertility and pleasantness of that island, described it to his countrymen upon his return as a place flowing with milk and honey. In consequence of this information, the Saracens, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet consisting of forty ships, well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and landing in the island, encamped on the promontory Charax, whence Apochapsus sent spies to discover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the island was quite destitute of soldiers; and that he would no where meet with the least opposition. He forthwith ordered the fleet to be set on fire, that his men, laying aside all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that island as their native country. The emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched Damiatus, with a considerable body of troops, to drive the Saracens out of the island. This officer being joined by Photinus, advanced, as soon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy, who killed him at the first onset, and put his whole army to flight, Photinus having with great difficulty made his escape in a light vessel, and carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor.

The Saracens, having now no enemy to oppose them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called Chandax, pointed out to them by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and in a short time reduced the whole island, which by its new masters was thenceforth called Chandax, and by others Candia, from the above mentioned city. Michael, as soon as he had ended the

*The Saracens land
in Crete,*

*and settle
here.*

*Fr. of Fl.
3135.*

A. D. 812.

I.C. 145.

*The city of
Candia
built.*

civil war, dispatched Craterus, with a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, to recover the island. Craterus having landed his men without opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break till noon, the victory inclining to neither side; but soon after the Saracens, having lost great numbers of men, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confusion. Had the Romans pursued them, they might have easily cut them all off, and made themselves masters of their city; but, instead of following the fugitives, and assaulting, without loss of time, the place whither they had retired, they spent the night in riot and excess, without so much as placing a guard or centry, to prevent their being surprised. The enemy, informed of their security, resolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on the conquerors: accordingly sallying out in the night, they fell upon them while they were intoxicated with wine, and cut them off almost to a man. Craterus, their general, with great difficulty, escaped on board a small vessel to the island of Cos: but the prince of the Saracens, not finding his body among the slain, dispatched some vessels with troops, who landing on the island, surprised, and nailed him to a cross. After this defeat, the emperor, despairing of being able to recover the island of Crete, contented himself with defending the other islands, and restraining the piracies of the Cretan Saracens^k. Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of Crete, several other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, such as great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes which overthrew whole cities, inundations, strange phenomena in the heavens, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, and violent storms; which are all ascribed by Cedrenus to Michael's contempt of images. But these calamities did not reclaim him from the loose and dissolute life which he led without any regard to religion or the laws: in the sixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, out of a monastery, where she had led from her infancy a recluse life, and married her. Soon after this violation, Euphemius, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, falling in love with another sacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monastery, and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud

The emperor's forces defeated.

Several public calamities.

complaints to the emperor, who ordered the governor of Sicily, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alleged against Euphemius to be true, to cut off his nose. To avoid this punishment, Euphemius drew several other officers of the army into a conspiracy; repulsed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the Saracens in Africa, promised to betray Sicily into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the Romans. To this project the Saracen governor of Africa readily consented; and having acknowledged him emperor, sent him back with a sufficient number of troops to support his title. He landed in Sicily without opposition; and advancing to Syracuse, endeavoured, by a flattering speech, to persuade the inhabitants who stood on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Observing two brothers, who were men of great interest in the city, listen to him with particular attention, he desired they would come and confer with him: but as he advanced from the rest of his company to meet and salute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The Saracens, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but being thus introduced, made themselves by degrees masters of the whole island; and passing over into Italy, landed at Taranto, whence they drove the Romans, and got possession of Calabria, and the adjoining provinces¹. The emperor died soon after this invasion, of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and seven days; and was buried in the church of the Apostles. His death happened on the first of October 820.

He was succeeded by his son Theophylus, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conspiracies, pretended to be a strict observer of justice, and a severe assertor of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of Leo, yet he resolved to punish all those who had been accessory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he summoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace Magnaura, or, as it was called from the five towers, Pentapyrgium. When they were assembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time resolved to reward the eminent services of those who had been instrumental in his promotion; but since death had prevented

¹ Cedren. in Mich. Ann. 8. Zonar. p. 173.

him,

him, he thought it incumbent upon himself, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore desired them to withdraw from the rest into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each person, and reward him accordingly. Those who had been accessory to the murder of Leo, readily discovered themselves, in expectation of some great reward: but the emperor having thus convicted them by their own confession, ordered one of his officers to put the laws against murder in execution; and to punish, according to their deserts, those who had not only shed innocent blood, but had inhumanly massacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then dismissed the assembly, and the officer, pursuant to his orders, punished all those who had conspired against Leo as murderers.^m

*Hepburn
nishes the
murderers
of Leo.*

After this execution he sent Euphrosyne back to the monastery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himself with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought against his ministers, administering justice with the utmost impartiality, and frequently visiting in person the markets, in order to settle the prices of provisions. In the third year of his reign he married his favourite daughter, named Mary, to Alexius Moseles, an Armenian by birth, a person of comely and majestic aspect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. He conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raised him to the proconsulship, and at last, as he had no issue male of his own, created him Cæsar, and sent him at the head of a numerous army to restrain the Saracens, who committed dreadful devastations in Italy. Alexius being attended with uncommon success, in this expedition, his rivals at court, jealous of the esteem he was in with the emperor, and the reputation he had acquired, represented him as one who aspired to the empire, strengthening their malicious suggestions with an old prediction, that "A should one day drive out Th." These intrigues Alexius no sooner understood, than he desired leave of Theophylus to retire, and embrace a monastic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to these insinuations, denied his request, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, Theophylus having a son soon after, and his daughter, who was married to Alexius, dying about the same time, he was at length prevailed upon, by the repeated importunities of his son-in-law, to comply with his request, and suffer him to retire. Besides Alexius, the emperor had

*Mariess
his daugh-
ter to
Alexius
Moseles,*

*who em-
braces a
monastic
life.*

^m *Ioann. Curppal. in Theophyl.*

two other eminent commanders, Manuel and Theophobus. The former had been raised by Leo, and the late emperor Michael, to the first posts in the army. The latter was a natural son of a Persian ambassador; descended from the blood royal of that nation, who dying soon after the birth of his son, left him at Constantinople, where he was educated after the Roman manner. All those of the royal family of Persia being either destroyed or expelled by the Saracens, who had made themselves masters of their country, the few Persians, who had outlived the general slaughter of their nation, hearing of Theophobus, sent to the emperor, desiring him for their king: but Theophilus chose rather to raise him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his sisters in marriage, granting at the same time, by a law enacted for that purpose, all his subjects leave to intermarry with the Persians; a privilege which brought great numbers of that nation over to the Romans, who formed them into one body, called the Persian legion, from which the emperor promised himself no small service in the expedition which he was about to undertake against the Saracens, who had invaded the Roman territories.

The Romans defeated by the Saracens.

Against them the emperor, attended by Manuel and Theophobus, marched in person: but in the battle which ensued, the Romans, after a most bloody and obstinate contest, gave ground, and fled in the utmost confusion. The emperor, with his guards, two thousand Persians, and Theophobus, gained a neighbouring hill, where he was immediately surrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmost efforts to take him prisoner, his own men striving with equal resolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus spent, when night came on, the Romans, by the advice of Theophobus, filled all on a sudden the air with loud acclamations, sounding at the same time their trumpets and other warlike instruments. The Saracens, deceived by this stratagem, and concluding they had received some reinforcement, retired in great haste, lest they should be surrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his escape to the rest of the army. The Persians were so charmed with the conduct of Theophobus on this occasion, that they addressed the emperor, begging he would suffer them to serve under him in a separate body; a request which was readily granted.

In the following year, the emperor was more fortunate; for having engaged the Saracens, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers, and took above twenty thousand prisoners, whom he carried in triumph to Constantinople. This victory encouraged him to make another attempt next spring;

Yr. of Fl.

3172.

A. D. 814.

U. C. 1572.

The emperor defeats the Saracens.

The Cosmopolitan History.

6

Spring ; but his army was utterly defeated, and himself in great danger of being taken prisoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. Manuel, apprised of the danger he was in, broke through with a body of chosen men, in order to bring him off ; but he refusing to retire, lest his retreat should discourage his army, Manuel presenting his sword to his breast, and telling him, that the state would suffer more by his captivity than by his death, threatened to kill him, unless he retreated to the rest of the army. The emperor then complied, Manuel, and his chosen band, opening him a way through the midst of the enemy. Theophylus had, at first, a just sense of this eminent piece of service, styling Manuel his deliverer ; but afterwards envying him the reputation he had acquired, and ashamed of being indebted to one of his subjects for his safety, readily gave ear to the malicious insinuations of some courtiers, accusing him of ambitious views, and privately resolved to deprive him of his life ; of which design Manuel being seasonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, who flies to the Saracens, he fled to the Saracens, and, upon condition he should not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their service. He was soon raised to the highest honours, and trusted with the command of their armies against the Cermatz, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in several battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching Constantinople, the emperor, grieved for the loss of so brave and faithful a commander, resolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Manuel with his own hand, inviting him home, and promising to reinstate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to Manuel by a monk, he received it with unspeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting against the Romans ; but now proceeding a desire of being revenged on those by whom he had been unjustly accused to the emperor, he desired leave of Ishmael, prince of the Saracens, to make war upon the Romans in Cappadocia. Ishmael, highly pleased with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but as he had already exhibited signal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his son to serve under him. Being arrived in Cappadocia, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his design, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting ; and being met, as had been agreed on between him and the governor of the province, by some Roman

His ingratitude to Manuel.

? who flies
to the Sag-
raceno;

*between the various
Programs so the Re-
spective Areas*

The Constantinopolitan History

troops, he acquainted the prince with his design, desiring him to return to the army.

From Cappadocia he immediately repaired to Constantinople, where he was received with great solemnity by the emperor in the church of Belchernæ, raised to the highest post in the army, and chosen to be godfather to his son Michael, whom he soon after took for his partner in the empire. In the course of the following year the Saracens invaded Cappadocia, under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched against them in person; but both armies, seized, while they were in sight of each other, with a panic, fled with precipitation, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. Theophylus afterwards invaded Syria, ravaged the country, and having made himself master of several fortresses, returned in triumph to Constantinople, leaving Theophobus to command the army. In his absence the Persians, increasing to thirty thousand, depending upon their strength and numbers, seized on Theophobus at Sinope; and, notwithstanding all his entreaties, representations and arguments, declared him emperor. Theophobus gave the emperor private notice of what had passed, assured him of his loyalty, though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity: he seized the first opportunity that offered, to make his escape to Constantinople, where he was received by the emperor with the greatest demonstrations of kindness, and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious Persians were, at his request, pardoned, and received into favour, but dispersed into several provinces.

Theophylus, in ravaging Syria, had, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the prince of the Saracens, destroyed Sozopetra, the place of his nativity; an insult which provoked him to such a degree, that he raised a powerful army, ordering every soldier to engrave upon his shield the word Amerium, the birth-place of Theophylus, and capital of Cilicia, which he was resolved, at all events, to destroy. The emperor, informed of these preparations, raised a body of forces, and marched with them to Doryleum, distant about three days journey from Amerium. There, in a council of war, several officers advised him to decline an engagement with the Saracens, whose army was more numerous than that of the Romans; and to remove the inhabitants of Amerium to some other place: but the emperor, imagining such a step would reflect no small disgrace

upon him, resolved to venture all in defence of his native city : accordingly he sent thither a strong detachment under the command of Aetius, general of the East, Theodorus Craterus, Theophylus Bubutzicus, and other experienced generals. In the mean time the prince of the Saracens dispatched his son, with ten thousand Turks, and a strong party of Armenians, to try the strength of the emperor's forces. The two armies met at a place called Dazymenum ; and an engagement ensuing, the Saracens were at first put to the rout ; but the Romans, in pursuing the fugitives, were so galled by the arrows of the Turks, that they not *Defeat the Romans.*

The Persians, however, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, made head against the enemy, till night coming on, afforded them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the Saracens, informed of his son's success, marched directly to Amorium, and being there joined by the young prince, laid close siege to the place, which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named Badiates, who, upon some discontent, had abjured the Christian religion. The Saracens, enraged at the resolute opposition they had met with, put most of the men to the sword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was so affected with the destruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all nourishment, drinking nothing but snow-water, which threw him into a dysentery. Being apprised that his end approached, he caused himself to be carried to Magnaura, and having summoned the senate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them, in a pathetic speech, to continue faithful to his wife and son, and protect them from all treachery. After this exhortation, sinking under the affliction of his mind, and temper of his body, he fainted away, and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days (B). He professed a great enmity to images, and persecuted with severity those who worshipped them. Hence he is painted

Amorium taken and destroyed.

Yr. of El.
3280.
A.D. 838.
U.C. 1580.

Theophylus diss.

by

(B) Joannes Compalates, had been arrested upon some whom we have followed in the groundless suspicions, to be cut history of this prince's reign, as off, and brought to him ; and the nearest to those times, tells that, touching it with his hand, us, that when he was at the point of death, he commanded his attendants, "Neither shall I be the hand of Theophylus, nor

by the writers of those times in the blackest colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his enemies, speak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to avarice and rapine. He beautified the city of Constantinople with many edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be scaled. He banished all loose and scandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to dissoluteness, and a pattern of the ancient Roman temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by several wholesome laws.

Theophylus was succeeded by his son Michael, who being then only six years old, his mother Theodora took upon her the administration; which she began by exerting her zeal for the worship of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his see John the patriarch of Constantinople, and placed Methodius a monk, and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the second council of Nice, in which the worship of images was approved of and established, to be observed throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly suppressed the Iconoclasts, whose doctrine had prevailed in Constantinople, and most cities of the East, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, she fell in the next place upon the Manichees, of whom no fewer than a hundred thousand are said to have been destroyed. One Carbeas, whose father had been crucified on account of his opinion, fled with four thousand of the same sect to the Saracens, and opened them a passage into the Roman territories, where they ravaged and depopulated whole provinces. The emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himself, being encouraged by Bardas, brother to Theodora, who promised himself great advantages from a change of affairs; but despairing of being able to succeed in his designs, so long as Manuel and Theodosius, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his son, continued near his person, he resolved to remove them by some means or other. He had scarce taken this resolution, when a misunderstanding arose

* Called *Zenobius* in Theoph.

about Theophilos (+). But one of the emperor's officers, with Zenobius and Constantine, wife, out his knowledge (+).

between those two faithful ministers, which Bardas improved with such heart, that Manuel, quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, Bardas easily persuaded the emperor, that Theodosius, having nothing less in view than the empire, designed to marry either the empress or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing by depriving him of his sight. Upon these malicious, and altogether groundless insinuations, Theodosius was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to prison, and there most inhumanly murdered. Michael and Bardas resolved to finish what they had begun, by removing the empress, who, well apprised of their design, to spare them the crime of shedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord.

Accordingly, having summoned the senate, she laid before them the present condition of the treasury; to obviate, by that explanation, the extravagant expences of her son, and at the same time to shew them how careful and frugal she had been during her administration; for she had, by a commendable economy, not only saved the immense treasure left by her husband, but greatly improved it. Having thus given a fair account of her conduct, she resigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great satisfaction of her brother and son, now at liberty to act without restraint or control. However, lest she should attempt to resume the power she had so readily resigned, Michael ordered her, and her three daughters, to be shut up in a monastery, where she died soon after of grief. Michael, thus freed from all restraint, abandoned himself to the most infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating Nero, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, and even seemed to exceed in all manner of wickedness. He in a short time squandered away the immense treasure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of most extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expose to ridicule the most sacred things, he often caused to appear in copes and other vestments, in which priests used to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the most holy functions and ceremonies. One Grypus, the most prodigal of the crew, he styled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himself the title of one of the chief bishops. Thus attended he used to walk in broad day-light, as in procession, through the streets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having once caused the infamous Grypus to be apparelled like the patriarch, he sent,

*Manuel se-
tires from
court.*

*Theodosius
murdered.*

*Yr. of P.
A.D. 146.
U.C. 1594.*

*The em-
perors
signs.*

*Michael a
wicked and
impious
prince.*

His propria- tality.

Yr. of El.

1106.

A. D. 843.

J.C. 1396,

*Edited by
Mrs. Sara-
mung.*

Yr. of Fl.

1197

A. D 849,

D.C. 1597

Bardas
etiam
Cosfor.

for his mother in the name of Ignatius, who then held that see. The empress came immediately; but as she fell down upon her knees, to crave his blessing, Gryllus, discovering himself, derided the piety of the good empress with indecent gestures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole assembly. The dissolute prince, having in a short time wasted all his treasures, was reduced to the necessity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a bishop named Leo, the greatest artist of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for, among the boughs were dispersed several golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, sung melodiously. In the year 848 he undertook an expedition against the Saracens, and laid siege to a city on the Euphrates; but the besieged sallying out upon the Romans, while they were at their devotions on a Sunday, put the whole army to flight, and made themselves masters of their camp and all their baggage, the emperor himself having with great difficulty made his escape. Two years after this expedition, the Saracens entering the Roman dominions with an army of thirty thousand men, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thousand Thracians and Macedonians. The loss of this battle was soon repaired by the good fortune of Petronas, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the Saracens in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, cut off the kaliff himself, and his whole army, took his son prisoner, and returned in triumph to Constantinople. In 850 the emperor raised his uncle Bardas, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, to the dignity of Cesar, in which high station he acted in a most arbitrary manner, without the least regard to the laws and customs of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any claim to her charge, and married his own niece. In consequence of this incestuous engagement, the patriarch Ignatius refused to communicate with him on the feast of the Epiphany, a refusal which provoked him to such a degree, that having assembled a synod at Constantinople, he inflicted several flogging whips, who accused Ignatius of having murdered his predecessor Methodius; upon which he was deposed, and thrown into prison, Photius being raised to the patriarchal see in his room; a change which occasioned great disturbances at Constantinople. The Saracens, who had settled in Crete, whence they were continually infesting the coasts of the empire, made this year a descent upon Thrace, penetrating far into the country, and committing every where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor sent his son Bardas, assisted by Bardas,

and arriving at a place called Chores, ordered his army to encamp. The servants of Bardas, whether on purpose or unadvisedly, is uncertain, pitched their master's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This insult the emperor seemed to resent; and the enemies of Bardas at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent and ambitious a favourite, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave them private orders to dispatch him; which they executed accordingly. The soldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to Constantinople.

*He is mur-
dered.*

The ruin of Bardas made room for Basilius, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter aversion to all manner of busines and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and soon after declared him his partner in the empire. Basilius was born in Macedon, but an Armenian by extract, and, according to Cedrenus, descended from the royal family of the Arsacidæ; but others affirm, he was born of mean and obscure parents. At the sacking of Adrianople by Crumus king of the Bulgarians, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents, but set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace. As he was tall in stature, of a comely aspect, and well-shaped, Theophilizes, a nobleman of great distinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his protostator, that is, his gentleman of the horse. Having broke an unruly horse belonging to the emperor, he was, by the interest of Bardas, taken into Michael's service, and raised to the post of master of the horse; which giving him an opportunity of conversing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great ascendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Bardas, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature but his rival, resolved on his destruction.

*Michael
takes Ba-
silus for a
partner i
the empire.*

But Basilius, apprised of his design, anticipated him, as we have related. Basilius, being upon the death of Bardas advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redress the many abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim Michael from his vicious courses; but the dissolute prince was to far from following his wholesome counsels, that he resolved to rid himself of all trouble.

Yr. of Fl. 3699. for Basilus, finding he could by no other means save himself but by destroying his colleague, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and asleep; and, with the assistance of some others, privy to his design, first cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone¹.

Michael murdered.

Basilus, now sole master of the empire, governed with great justice and moderation, preferring such only as were persons of known probity, and allowing all his subjects free access to him; a conduct which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the beginning of his reign a conspiracy was formed against him by George and Symbatius, two patricians; but it being seasonably discovered, they were deprived of sight, and their accomplices banished. To revenge my former attempts of the same nature, in the second year of his reign he raised his eldest son Constantine to the imperial dignity; and, in the third, he created Leo and Alexander, his second and third sons, Cæsars. As for his fourth son, by name Stephen, he caused him to take orders, with a design to raise him to the patriarchal see. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of St. Euphemia, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to make war upon the Manichœs. We have observed, that in the late reign vñ Carbas, a Manichee, fled, with five thousand of the same sect, to the Saracens, with a design to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his opinion. Great numbers of the persecuted Manichœs fled to him for shelter, he made frequent incursions upon the Roman territories from three strong places in Argenis, Argarum, Armora, and Tephrica, which had been yielded to them by the Saracens. Against these Manichœs Basilus marched in person, laid waste their country, took or killed their best commanders, and returned with an immense booty to Constantinople; which city he entered in triumph. Next year the Manichœs, resolving to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of Chrysolitus; but being met by the imperial troops, they were driven to a man cut off, with their leader, whose head was sent to Constantinople. By this decisive action their power was so broken, that they were never after

He breaks
the power
of the Ma-
nichœs.

wards in a course of molesting the empire. Encouraged by his success against the Manichaei, he entered Syria, attended by his eldest son Constantine, recovered several fortresses from the Saracens, and took an incredible number of prisoners. On his return he made himself master of Cælarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia; and of several other cities, which he levelled with the ground. The prisoners he took in this expedition were so numerous, that not being able to spare sufficient soldiers to guard them, he commanded many of them to be put to the sword; an execution which struck such terror into the Saracens, that some of their governors not only submitted, but joined the emperor against their own nation. The African Saracens, and those of Crete, attempting to invade the empire, were likewise defeated with great slaughter, and the fleet of the former was utterly destroyed by Nazar the Roman admiral. These extraordinary advantages were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the loss of Syracuse, which the Saracens of Carthage took and destroyed. Adrian, a patrician, who had been sent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor, upon his return to Constantinople, caused him to be dragged from the great church where he had taken sanctuary, and sent into exile. Basilus, at such times as he was not engaged in wars, busied himself in building and repairing churches, of which Cedrenus mentions a great number. His eldest son Constantine being dead, he raised his second son Leo to the imperial dignity, who, being offended at the great sway which Theodorus Callistabarenus, by profession a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's presence. The jealous monk, apprised of his intent, resolved to destroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conspiracy against Basilus, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he first persuaded the young prince privately to arm himself and some of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppose any attempt upon the life of his father; and then hastening to the emperor, told him in great consternation, that his son designed to murder him; that his design was to be put in execution the first time he went to hunt; and that, if he caused him to be searched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, listening to the wicked and malicious accusations of the monk, ordered his son to be searched; and a dagger being found under his garments, Leo impri-
*His success
against the
Saracens.*
*Syracuse
taken and
destroyed.*
*The trea-
chery of a
monk.*
*Leo impris-
onated him to close prison, in an apartment of the jenid.*

*and re-
legated.*

*Basilus
dies.*

*Yr. of Fl.
9217.
A. D. 869.
U. C. 1617.*

*His influ-
tions to his
son.*

palace, where his eyes would have been put out at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the senate interposed in his behalf. However, he was long kept under close confinement; but at length released, at the earnest and repeated intreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. *Cropahates* tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the senate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any farther application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining several of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of some who used to lament the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a sudden, "Alas, unhappy Leo!" His friends, laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applications; to which Basilus at length yielded. He died, not long after this transaction, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and seven days.

To his son Leo, whom he appointed his successor, he left, with the empire, some excellent maxims or rules of government, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence; "Basilus, emperor of the Romans in Christ, to Leo his dear son and colleague in the empire." The maxims contained in this performance are worthy of a great prince and a Christian philosopher. Basilus made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of *Basilice*, signifying, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as some have imagined, from the emperor Basilus, by whose orders they were compiled. They were written in the Greek tongue, the Latin, in which the laws of *Justinian* were compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the eastern empire. Basilus is, by all the ancient writers, deservedly ranked among the best emperors.

Basilus was succeeded by his son Leo, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldest son Constantine. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and so well versed in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired the surname of *Philosophus*. His first care was, to punish Theodorus Sentabarenus the monk, whom he suffered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then banished him to Athens, where his eyes were put out. Philoxenus, patriarch of Constantinople, had favoured Theodorus, and conspired with him to raise a kingdom of his own to the throne; he had besides raised great

disturbances in the church? for which crimes he was, by Leo's orders, deposed, and banished into Armenia, Stephen, the emperor's brother, being raised to the patriarchal see in his room. To shew his gratitude to the emperor Michael, who had first preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he caused his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monastery of Chrysopolis, where it had been interred, to the church of the Apostles in Constantinople, and there deposited in a stately monument of marble.

*His honours
the memory
of Michael.*

In the year 877, the eighth of Leo's reign, a war broke out between the Romans and Bulgarians, on the following occasion : a great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at Constantinople, whence it was, at the request of some merchants, removed to Thessalonica. There the collectors of the customs oppressing, with new and unlawful impositions, the Bulgarian merchants, Simeon their king, having first applied in vain to the emperor for redress, resolved to do himself justice. Accordingly, entering the Roman territories, at the head of a powerful army, he ravaged and laid waste the country as far as Macedonia, where he was met by the Roman army, under the command of Procopius Crepites, and Curticius, who were both cut off, with most of their army, in the engagement that ensued. Simeon, having taken in the pursuit a great number of prisoners, caused their noses to be cut, and sent them back, thus deformed, to Constantinople. The emperor incensed at this outrage, prevailed upon the Ungri or Hungarians, whom our author styles Turks, to invade the country of the Bulgarians on one side, while he entered it on the other.

*His army
defeated by
the Bulgarians.*

Against the Hungarians, Simeon marched in person ; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and himself with difficulty escaping to a city named Dorostolum, whence he sent ambassadors to Leo, suing for peace ; which was readily granted him, upon very honourable terms. The emperor's forces were no sooner withdrawn than Simeon fell unexpectedly upon the Hungarians ; and having put them to flight, ravaged their country. Leo, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreasonable demands, resolved to fall upon him with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly destroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catagalon and Theodosius : but Simeon, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut most of them in pieces, with Theodosius, and a great number of officers of distinction, a disaster which obliged the emperor to

*The trea-
chery of
the Bul-
garians.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

submit to the best terms he could obtain¹. While Leo was engaged in these wars abroad, several conspiracies were formed against him at home; whitch, however, were seasonably discovered; and the conspirators sent into exile, the emperor being averse to bloodshed. The empress Theophano, or, as others call her, Theophanisa, being dead, the emperor married one Zoe, the most beautiful woman of her age, whom he had kept as his concubine in his wife's lifetime, and caused her to be crowned with the usual solemnity, conferring at the same time on her father, by name Zantzas, the title of Father of the Emperor. Zoe did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, Leo married to his third wife, a lady of extraordinary beauty, named Eudocia; but she dying in child-bed, together with the infant, Leo, who had yet no issue male to succeed him, married to his fourth wife another Zoe, who brought him a son, called Constantine (C).

Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on Whitunday in a solemn procession to the church of St. Mocinus, as was customary on that day, a person of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, just as he entered the church, gave him such a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and those about him believed him dead; and he would certainly have been killed upon the spot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. Alexander, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this at-

tempt upon his life.

Constantine Leo. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

(C) This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of Constantinople; for Nicetas Mytilenus, then patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monastery, and placed one Euthymius Syneclis in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to Nicetas, and others to Euthymius; addition-

which occasioned a schism in the church. Though Euthymius rebuked the emperor to the communio[n] of the faithful, yet he resolutely opposed him, when, by the advice of the senate, he was about to publish an edict, declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. Leo had formerly published an edict, subjecting those who married thrice, to the penalties which had been decreed against them by some ancient councils, and the clergy would not suffer him to revoke that edict (1).

(1) Vide Catech. Paraphrasis, in folio, ad Edictum de Unione.

tempt; but no proof could be alleged against him, the traitor, though tortured in a most cruel manner, obstinately refusing to discover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off. In the following year 885, the sixteenth of Leo's reign, the Saracens, having equipped a powerful fleet, took Tauromenium in Sicily, reduced the island of Lemnos, and ravaging, without control, the coasts of Asia, threw the imperial city into great consternation. In the end of the summer they laid siege to Thessalonica, which they took, and would have destroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large sum by Simeon, one of the emperor's secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of a patrician. Leo, unable to oppose the Saracens at sea, raised a powerful army, which he sent into the East, under the conduct of Eustathius Argyrus, and Andronicus Ducas, in order to attack them by land; a service which they performed with great success, having gained several victories. However, in the year following, they invaded, with a numerous army, the Roman territories; a circumstance which obliged the emperor to dispatch Himerius and Andronicus Ducas against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct; but a fatal misunderstanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one Samonas, put a stop to the progress of their arms. Samonas, a Saracen by birth, and formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having discovered a conspiracy, had been, on that account, advanced to the first employments in the state. Having acquired immense wealth, he attempted to escape into his own country with his treasures; but was stopped upon the road, and brought back to Constantinople by Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus. The emperor, provoked at his being thus abandoned, kept him for some time under close confinement; but in the end restored him to his former rank and honours.

As Samonas bore an irreconcileable hatred to Andronicus, on account of his son Constantine, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large sum, to warn him by letter not to join Himerius, who, he said, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes as soon as he had him in his power. Andronicus, giving credit to this letter, refused to join Himerius, who nevertheless engaged the Saracens, and gave them a total overthrow. Androni-

Taranto-
nium and
Thessalo-
nia taken
by the Sa-
racens;

who are
defeated by
the empe-
ror's gene-
rals.

*Andronicus
Ducas dis-
graced, fled
to the Sar-
acens.*

cus, defying the emperor's indignation, seized a castle near Iconium, called Cabala, with a design to revolt; which Samonas no sooner understood than, making use of all his authority at court, he prevailed upon the emperor to declare Andronicus a traitor, and to dispatch a strong army against him, under the command of Iberitzas Gregoras. Andronicus, despairing of pardon, fled to the Saracens, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. Leo, greatly concerned for the loss of so brave a commander, who had hitherto served him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, resolved to persuade him, if possible, to return. With this view he released a Saracen captive, on condition he delivered to Andronicus a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promised to restore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated assurances of his friendship and esteem; but the captive, bribed by Samonas, instead of conveying the letter to Andronicus, delivered it to the kalif, who immediately caused the unfortunate Andronicus, with his son Constantine, and the rest who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into prison, where they were treated with the utmost cruelty.

Andronicus soon perished under the hardships he endured; several others purchased their liberty, by renouncing their religion; but Constantine, the son of Andronicus, made his escape, with a small number of attendants, and though pursued, sometimes by fighting, and sometimes by casting gold in the way, in order to amuse his pursuers, got safe to Constantinople, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and seated, upon his arrival, in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to suffer himself to be so far misled, by the omen of his name, as to aspire at the empire, adding, that he had been assured by those who could foretel things of that nature, that his own son Constantine was destined by Heaven to the empire; and that, if Ducas ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would be inevitably cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place where he was now treated with so much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction.

Vr. of F.
1135
A. D. 1137
U.C. 363.

Samanas
disgraced.

About this time Samonas, the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, was at length disgraced on the following occasion: he had recommended a youth, named Constantine, by birth a Paphlagonian, to wait on the empress, who being much pleased with his talents and other good qualities, granted her in-

terest to prefer him. Samonas, apprehending he might in time be supplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accused the empress of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldness to publish a libel against the emperor himself, who finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monastery, and appointed his rival, Constantine, great chamberlain in his room.^x In the twenty-sixth and last year of his reign, the Saracens, under the conduct of Darianus, a Tyrian, and Leo of Tripolis, committing dreadful ravages on the coasts, and in the islands of the *Egæan* sea, Himerius was sent with a powerful fleet against them; but in a sea-fight near the island of Saphos, the Roman navy was utterly defeated, Himerius himself having, with much difficulty, escaped to Mitylene. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the colic on the eleventh of May of the present year, after having reigned twenty-five years, and three months. He left behind him only one son, named Constantine; but as he was scarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother Alexander, after having earnestly intreated him to leave it at his death to his son Constantine, whom he recommended to his care.

Leo is considered by all writers as a prince of great prudence, and uncommon penetration. He is highly extolled by the ecclesiastic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the Catholic faith, and by them compared to the most zealous and vigilant among their bishops. As he was a man of great learning, he left several works behind him, namely, a letter to Omarus, king of the Saracens, concerning the mysteries and truth of the Christian religion, and the heresies and blasphemies of the Saracens; a book of military discipline, which has been translated into Latin; another on hunting; several theological and historical tracts, still to be seen, though strangely maimed and corrupted, in the Vatican library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the bishops, he wrote to all his subjects, encouraging them to the practice of every Christian virtue; but as he applied himself above all to the study of the law, ie new-modelled the Roman jurisprudence. His father Basilius had, with the assistance of his two sons, Constantine and Leo, published an epitome of Justinian's code, which he called Procheiron. This work, which consisted of forty titles, is still to be found among the manuscripts.

*The Roman
fleet defeat-
ed by the
Saracens.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3242.
A. D. 895.
U.C. 1643.*

Leo dies.

*His cha-
racter and
works.*

^x Caropat, in Leo. Zosam. Cedren. Leo Grammat. ibid. Cost. Manas. Glyc. 1688.

in the Vatican library). It is by some ascribed to Basilius, Constantine, and Leo; by others only to Leo and Constantine; and by some to Leo alone: whence Cujacius, and other civilians, conclude it to have been revised by Leo, and brought into a better form. Leo likewise published, about the year 836, his *Basilica*, divided into sixty books, and six volumes. In this great work, the emperor followed the order which Justinian had observed in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, *Novelle*, and from the constitutions of the succeeding emperors down to Basilius, whatever was superfluous, or had been abrogated by the custom of after-times, being retrenched. The *Basilicas* were no sooner published, than the books of Justinian were laid aside, both in the schools and courts of justice. Leo dying, his son Constantine revised and corrected the *Basilicas*, which had been published by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected, to be made up of both at the bar and in the schools. The *Basilicas* of Leo were called *Piores*, and those of Constantine, *Postiores*; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the Greek jurisprudence to the end of the empire.²

Alexander a debauched prince. Leo being dead, his brother Alexander was, by the senate and people, acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, betrayed such cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his subjects. Those who feasted in his company, he banished under various pretences, placing persons of infamous characters in their room, and suffering himself to be entirely governed by debauchees and prostitutes. He was so pleased with Basilius, a person of a mean descent, but of a most dissolute life, and his insatiable companion in the most abominable extravagancies, that he resolved to settle the empire on him, and, by castrating his nephew Constantine, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of succession; but he was diverted from such an unpopular attempt, by some of the late emperor's friends, who represented, that the child was of a weak and sickly constitution, and would, in all likelihood, be soon removed by a natural death. In the mean time, he banished the emperor Basilius from the court, suffering none to continue there but such as were slaves to his sensual pleasures, and subservient to his brutish appetites. Simeon, prince of the Bulgarians, who former heard of his accession to the empire than had dispatched ambassadors to him to renew the treaties of peace and friendship concluded

By pro-
viding the
Emperor
Basilius.

² See the *Georg. cap. 10.* *Spart. lib. vi. Orlow. cap. 10.*
Georg. lib. 10. *MCC. p. 10.*

by former emperors between the two nations; but Alexander, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike and powerful nation, dismissed their ambassadors in an ignominious manner. Simeon, justly provoked at this affront, invaded, with a formidable army, the Roman territories, destroying all with fire and sword. Alexander, instead of offering to oppose him, pursued, without interruption, his dissolute courses, till death, hastened by his intemperance, delivered the world from so pernicious a monster. As he was one day using violent exercise, after having eaten and drank to a great excess, some of the vessels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till he died.

He dies.

Before his death, which happened after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared Constantine his successor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, such persons as had been most subservient to him in his infamous pleasures, and were, on that account, despised and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. Their unpopular characters encouraged Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus, of whom we have spoken above, to attempt the sovereignty, notwithstanding the warning given him by the late emperor; but as he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was seized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, most of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being discovered, and punished either with death or banishment. During these domestic broils, Simeon king of the Bulgarians, having laid waste Thrace, had advanced to the gates of Constantinople, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a short time; but the unexpected and vigorous opposition he met with from the inhabitants, obliged him, after several unsuccessful attempts, to abandon the enterprise, and retire to Hebdomon, whence he sent ambassadors to the young prince's governors, with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, Simeon was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of Blacherne, whence he returned home laden with rich presents.

The regents, disagreeing amongst themselves, at the earnest request of the people of Constantinople, and of the young prince himself, recalled to court the empress Zoe; who, having soon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's presence the favourites of Alexander, and put others into their rooms, who were better qua-

Yr. of Fl.
3245.
A. D. 897.
U. C. 1645.

Constantine VIII.

The Bulgarians break into the empire.

The Constantinopolitan History.

The Bulgarians invade the empire.

lived for that high truth*. Zoe had scarce taken upon her the administration when the Bulgarians broke into the empire on one side, and the Saracens on the other. The former, after having laid waste Thrace, sat down before Adrianople, which was betrayed to them by Pancratius, an Armenian, whom Simeon had bribed with rich presents. The Saracens, under the conduct of Damjanus, kalif of Tyre, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devastations on the coasts. Zoe, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, resolved, pursuant to the advice of the senate, to make peace upon any terms with the Saracens, and employ the whole strength of the empire against the Bulgarians. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and an army sent against the latter, under the conduct of Leo Phocas, who, having mustered his numerous forces in the spacious plain of Diabasis, led them strait against the enemy, who were encamped at a small distance.

Before the engagement, Constantine, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was styled, protopapa, exposing the wood of the holy cross to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and swear that they would fight to the last. After this ceremony, both armies engaged with great fury; but the Romans prevailing, after a most obstinate dispute, the Bulgarians fled in the utmost confusion. The victory, however, was unluckily snatched out of their hands, by the following accident: Leo, the Roman general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the pursuit, his horse broke loose, while he stooped down to drink. The soldiers, who knew the horse, seeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was slain, and giving over the pursuit, began to retire in a disorderly manner; a circumstance which Simeon perceiving, rallied his men, and facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, put them to flight, and purified them with much slaughter; not only great numbers of the common soldiers being slain in that confusion, but many officers of distinction. To this unhappy mistake ascribe the dreadful overthrow which the Romans received on this occasion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. In the mean time the two rivals, Leo and Romanus, returning to court, began to plot, not only against the emperor, but against each other; for they had both nothing left in view than the sovereignty; but the faction of Romanus prevailing at length over that of Leo, the latter was declared a traitor, Being seized in

to dis-
raced,
and de-
rived of
is fight,

Cap. 10. Zoe, Leo, Græmunt, & Cynegist, in Constan-

a castle

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a castle named Atcas, whither he had fled for shelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his flight, and, by that means, rendered incapable of any farther attempts.

Romanus, having thus got rid of Leo, and driven all his partisans from the emperor's presence, persuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his son Christopher commander in chief of the allies, which post was, at that time, one of the greatest dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engrossed to himself the whole power, he drove the empress Zoe from the palace, and confined her to the monastery of St. Euphemia. Soon after her departure, he caused himself to be first declared Cæsar, and afterwards to be solemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather silently permitting than approving of these extraordinary proceedings. Next year Romanus caused his two sons, Stephen and Christopher, to be crowned in the great church, reserving the other, by name Theophylactus, for the patriarchal dignity; and, with the utmost arrogance, he ordered himself to be named before Constantine, in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were formed by the friends of young Constantine, to deliver him from the control, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all discovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors punished with the utmost severity. Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, taking advantage of these intestine broils, broke anew into the Roman territories; and having defeated, with great slaughter, the imperial troops dispatched against him, advanced, without opposition, to the gates of Constantinople; but despairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis, he desisted an interview with the emperor Romanus; which being readily granted, a peace ensued between the two nations, Romanus having, in a pathetic speech, put the Bulgarian in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal Judge of the Christian blood he had already shed. At the same time the Saracens, who had long infested the coasts and the islands, being surprised by John Radenus, the Roman admiral, in the harbour of Lemnos, were cut off almost to a man, and their whole fleet destroyed. Not long after, Simeon king of the Bulgarians died, and was succeeded by his son Peter, who, breaking into the Roman dominions, destroyed all with fire and sword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father.

When he heard Romanus was marching against him, at the head of a powerful army, he dispatched a monk, with proposals for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by a marriage. This overture being well received by Romanus, the Bulgarian prince, after se-

Zoe con-
fined to a
monastery.
Romanus
crowned
emperor.

Yr. of Fl.
1251.
A.D. 903.
U.C. 1651.

Peace with
the Bulga-
rians.

*The king
of the Bul-
garians
marries the
grand-
daughter of
Romanus.*

*Melitena
taken from
the Sarac-
ens.*

veral negotiations, repaired to Constantinople, where he was splendidly entertained by Romanus in the palace of Blachernæ, and, with great solemnity, married by Stephen the patriarch, to Mary the daughter of Christopher, the emperor's son. The nuptial solemnities were scarce over, when the Saracens in Syria invaded the Roman territories; but John Curcuas, the imperial general in those parts, drove them back with great loss; and having taken the city of Melitena, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. The following winter proved very severe; and the long frost, said to have lasted a hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which swept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in several provinces, and whole cities overturned. At Constantinople a fire broke out, which consumed many stately buildings: but Romanus was not so much affected with these public calamities, as with the death of his son Christopher, who died on the fourteenth of August of the present year 905^b.

In the course of the following year, one Basilius, a native of Macedonia, pretending that he was Constantine Ducas, who had been slain in the beginning of the present reign, drew crowds after him; but being seized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at Constantinople, who, after having caused one of his hands to be cut off, set him at liberty. He continuing still to pass himself upon the credulous multitude for the son of Andronicus, got together great numbers of malecontents, who having seized on a strong-hold, made from thence frequent incursions into the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. Romanus having, with much difficulty, got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive^c. In 918, the Roffi, who inhabited the European Sarmatia, and were known to the ancients by the names of Roxolani and Bastarnæ, having equipped a numerous fleet, consisting, according to some, of ten, according to others, of fifteen thousand vessels, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of the empire; but Theophanes, the Roman admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, destroyed their whole fleet; and the two generals, Bardas and Curcuas, pursuing those who had saved themselves ashore, made such a havock of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune^d. All this while Constantine, the lawful prince, lived without the least authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully

*The Roffi
defeated by
the Ro-
mans.*

^a Cæsaroplat. in Roman. Leo Grammat. in Rom.

^b Curoplat. in Roman. Leo Grammat. in Rom.

^c Zonar. Cedren.

watched an opportunity of recovering his former power ; and, with this view, gained over some persons in great credit and esteem with Romanus and his sons. These being apprised, that to remove Romanus was the first step towards the re-establishment of Constantine, applied to Stephen, the usurper's youngest son, and, by degrees, brought him to rebel against his father, whom he seized on the sixteenth of December of the present year 928, and confined to a monastery in the island Prota. Romanus being thus removed, Stephen caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother Constantine, who had been raised by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the sovereignty. This circumstance gave rise to a misunderstanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both ; for Constantine having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been desirous of bringing about an accommodation, caused them both to be seized in the midst of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, Stephen to the island of Panormus, and Constantine to Terebinthus, where they were both ordained priests. Stephen was afterwards removed to Proconnesus, and from thence to Rhodes, then to Mitylene, and lastly to Lesbos, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years with great constancy and resolution. Constantine having, two years after, killed one of his keepers, with a design to make his escape from the island of Samothrace, whither he had been removed, the rest, transported with rage, slew him. As for Romanus, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile ^a.

Constantine, thus restored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all those who had been instrumental in his restoration, preferring them to the first employments in the state. In order to prevent any future designs that might be formed against him, he caused his son Romanus to be crowned with the usual solemnity. As for Romanus, the son of Stephen, with Basilius, the natural son of Romanus the elder, and Michael, the son of Christopher, they were made eunuchs, and compelled to enter into orders. In 929, the Saracens breaking into the empire with a powerful army, Bardas Phocas, and his two sons, Nicphorus and Leo, were dispatched with the flower of the Roman forces against them. Bardas was one of the best officers of his age ; but being hated by the soldiery, on ac-

Vr. of St
3276.
A. D. 928
U. C. 9276

*Romanus
deposed
by
his son.*

*His sons
deposed
and ca-
nunified.*

*Constantine
restored to
his former
power.*

comit of his sordid avarice, he performed nothing answerable to the high character he bore; and his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerously wounded in the forehead, and with difficulty brought off alive by some of his friends. His two sons gained several signal victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared than beloved, by those who served under them. Leo, having overthrown the Saracens in a pitched battle, took, among other prisoners, Apolasemus, a person of great distinction, and nearly related to Chabdarus, the kalif; a circumstance which the emperor no sooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be sent to Constantinople, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod, in an insulting manner, upon his neck. The kalif, exasperated by this indignity, used in a most barbarous manner Constantine, the third son of Bardas Phocas, whom he had taken prisoner, in order to make him abjure the Christian religion; but not being able to prevail, he caused him to be poisoned. Phocas, to revenge his death, put to the sword all the relations of the kalif who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kalif, having raised a numerous and formidable army, marched against Phocas and his sons, carrying with him Nicetas, a patrician, and several other prisoners of distinction, with an intent to cause them to be massacred in the sight of the Roman army: but Nicetas, who was a man of great address, having in the mean time insinuated himself into his favour, was by him made privy to all his designs, which he found means to impart to Phocas, who, lying in ambush for him in a narrow pass, cut off his numerous army almost to a man, the kalif himself escaping with much difficulty, after having put to the sword all the Roman prisoners, except Nicetas, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his escape at the beginning of the engagement.

After this victory Phocas, invading the territories of the Saracens, took several strong places, and laid waste whole provinces: but the Saracens, who had settled in Crete, committing dreadful ravages on the coast, the emperor having, with incredible expedition, fitted out a powerful fleet, despatched it with a strong army on board against the island of Crete, where they landed, without the least opposition from the Saracens, altogether unprovided against so sudden a descent, and would have easily made themselves masters of the whole island; had they been commanded by an officer of any skill or experience. The emperor having conferred the chief command in this expedition upon one of

his

his chamberlains, named Constantine Gongylas, who had been brought up in the court, and was consequently an utter stranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miscarried; for the Saracens, finding he neither took care to fortify himself by any works, nor to send out scouts to procure intelligence, concluded he was no warrior. Recovering from their consternation, they fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great slaughter, and made themselves masters of his camp and baggage. He himself would have fallen into the enemy's hands, had not some of his guards conveyed him on board one of his vessels'. Not long after this defeat, Romanus, the emperor's son, prompted by his ambition, and instigated by his wife Theophano, or Theophanis, conspired against his father. Having gained over Nicetas, one of the attendants at the emperor's table, he prevailed upon him to administer poison to the prince, instead of a potion, which had been prescribed to him by his physicians: but the emperor happening to stumble, after he had taken in his hand the poisonous cup, the greater part of the draught was spilt by that lucky accident; so that what remained had not the desired effect, though his life was for some time in great danger.

In the month of September of the same year, the emperor undertook a journey to Mount Olympus, on pretence of requesting the prayers of the monks for the success of his arms against the Saracens, whom he designed, if possible, to drive out of Syria: but the true motive of his journey was to advise with Theodorus, bishop of Cyzicus, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal see Polyeuctus, who had succeeded Theophylactus, the son of Romanus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his son, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to Constantinople, where he died on the ninth of November 960, after having lived forty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with Romanus, and fifteen alone^s. Europolites, whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife Helena, and his favourite Basilius, who, abusing the trust reposed in them, set every thing to sale, bestowing the first employments in the state on the highest bidder. He is likewise condemned for punishing the smallest faults with the utmost severity. On the other hand, he was a great

Yr. of Fl.
A. D. 951.
U.C. 1699.

The Romans defeated by the Saracens.

Constantine dies.

His character.

¹ Europolites in Quodlibet. ² Idem ibid.

encourager of learning, which he is said to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himself well skilled in most branches of literature, especially in history, arithmetic, astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. Zonaras commends him on account of his piety, which, says he, appeared in all his writings and epistles.

Romanus.

A debauched prince.

Constantine was succeeded by his son Romanus, surnamed the Boy, to distinguish him from the other Romanus, his grandfather; for he was the son of Constantine by Helena, the daughter of Romanus the usurper. He is deservedly reckoned amongst the most lewd and debauched princes mentioned in history. Though he was himself capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs to Joseph, his chief chamberlain, that he might with more liberty, and without interruption, pursue his pleasures; which he did, without bestowing one thought on the public. Soon after his accession, he caused his young son Basilis to be crowned, with the usual solemnity, by the patriarch Polyeuctus; and imagining he had thus secured the Empire to his posterity, he took no farther care either of his family or the public. In the second year of his reign, Nicephorus Phocas, a person of extraordinary merit, who had been raised by Constantine to the chief command of all the forces of the empire, undertook, with the consent of Romanus and the senate, an expedition against the Saracens in Crete. Landing in that island, he defeated the enemy in several engagements, made himself master of all their strong places, Chanda itself not excepted, took Curupes, the kalif, and Arcemas, his lieutenant, prisoners, and in the space of seven months reduced the whole island. Before he could settle affairs, he was recalled by the emperor, at the instigation of Joseph, who, growing jealous of the success of Nicephorus, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that he who conquered Crete, should become master of the whole Roman empire.

The island of Crete recovered.

The Saracens overthrown in the East.

While Nicephorus thus signalized himself in Crete, his brother Leo was attended with equal success in the East, where he gave the Saracens the greatest overthrow they had ever received. Chabdanna their kalif, with much difficulty, made his escape; but the rest were either killed upon the spot, or taken prisoners. Such numbers of captives were sent by Leo to Constantinople, that all the houses, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of those times, filled with Saracen

slaves. Leo, on his return to Constantinople, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother Nicephorus, of whom the emperor entertained no small jealousy on account of the above mentioned prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march against Chabdanus, the kalif of Syria, who having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invasion. Nicephorus, meeting him on the borders of Syria, overthrew him in a pitched battle; then laying siege to Berœa, made himself master of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of Christian captives, who on that occasion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached Constantinople, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years, four months, and five days. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of March of the year 954, is by some ascribed to poison, administered to him by his wife Theophano; by others, to his great lewdness and intemperanceⁱ.

He left two sons, Basilius and Constantine; but as they were very young, the empress Theophano took upon herself the administration. She commanded Nicephorus to repair to Constantinople, much against the will of Joseph the prime minister, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he displayed the rich spoils he had taken in the island of Crete and the city of Berœa. During his stay at Constantinople, he found that Joseph suspected him of ambitious designs, as if he aspired to the empire. In order, therefore, to remove the suspicions of the prime minister, having desired and obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt it deserved, he had long panted after a retired and monastic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindness of his masters, who had forced employments upon him of the greatest trust. At the same time he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next his skin. The credulous minister, surprised at this speech, and the sight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alleged against him. Nicephorus having thus gained the good opinion of Joseph, was suffered to return to the army in the East; where he had not been long, before Joseph, jealous of the esteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him escape.

Yr. of Fl.
3303.
A.D. 955.
U.C. 1703.

Romanus dies.

Nicepho-
rus comes
to Constan-
tinople, and
triumphs.

Nic. claimed emperor. out of his hands, and seriously to consider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raising disturbances in the state. As his apprehensions daily increased, he wrote in the end to Tzimisches and Curcuas, two principal commanders in the East, promising to prefer them to the first posts in the army, provided they seized on Nicephorus, and secured him in a monastery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. The two officers not only delivered the letters to Nicephorus, but advised him to provide for his own safety by the only expedient now left him, that of taking upon him the sovereignty. This proposal he rejected at first, or seemed to reject, with the utmost horror; but Tzimisches and Curcuas threatening him with their drawn swords, he accepted of the empire, as was reported, to save his life, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor on the second of July of the year 954*.

Nicephorus crowned emperor. As Nicephorus was no less beloved by the people of Constantinople, on account of his affability and great exploits, than Joseph was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the East were received by all ranks of people with the greatest demonstrations of joy, nothing being heard in the streets but "Success and prosperity to Nicephorus Callinicus, or the brave conqueror." The house of Joseph, and those of his friends and adherents, were in an instant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at Chrysopolis, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to Hebdomon, where he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch Polyeuctus. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and senate, he began his reign by banishing Joseph into Paphlagonia, and confining him to a monastery in that province, where he died. In the second year of his reign he married the empress Theophano, though he was on this occasion opposed with great warmth by the patriarch, because he had been married before, and was said to have stood godfather to one of the empress's children; Polyeuctus even proceeded so far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the above mentioned impediments: but the matter being examined in a synod held for that purpose at Constantinople, Nicephorus was by the assembled bishops restored to the communion of the church.

Yr. of Fl.

326.

A. D. 954.

U. C. 1706.

In the third year of his reign he raised a powerful army, with a design to drive out of Sicily the Saracens who had

* Curopalat, Cedren. Zosar, & Ali in Niceph. in Niceph.

¹ Curopalat.

settled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coasts of Italy. With the command of this army he entrusted Manuel, the natural son of his uncle Leo, who being an entire stranger to the art of war, suffered himself to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the island, where he was cut off with all his men. John Zimisces, who commanded in Cilicia, was attended with success; for the Saracens, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with such slaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called the Bloody Hill. The same year the Saracens in Cyprus were overthrown in several successive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the island, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. In the spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens in Cilicia, took three of their strongest cities; and having wintered in Cappadocia, invested, in the beginning of the next campaign, the cities of Mopsuestia and Tarsus at the same time, which, after an obstinate defence, were obliged to surrender at discretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops, was sent from Egypt to the relief of Tarsus; but the city having submitted three days before their arrival, they sailed back, when they were overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed most of their ships, and drove the rest on the coasts of the empire, where they were seized, with the soldiers on board, by the Romans. Nicephorus, encouraged by the success that attended his arms, broke into Syria the following year; and having easily reduced such cities and forts as refused voluntarily to submit, he marched forward, the Saracens flying every where before him, and laid siege to Antioch: but as that metropolis was defended by a numerous garrison, and well stored with provisions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged, by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize, and return to Constantinople. Burtzas, a patrician, whom he had left in Syria with a large body of troops, to secure the places he had conquered in those parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched strait to Antioch, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, struck the garrison with such terror, that they immediately submitted. Thus was the metropolis of Syria once more united to the empire.

Nicephorus, mindful, says Cedrenus, of the above mentioned prophecy, instead of rewarding Burtzas for such an eminent piece of service, discharged him, and forbade him the court. John Zimisces, who had served him with the ut-

*The Roman army
cut off by
the Saracens.*

*Yr. of Pl.
3307.
A. D. 959.
U. C. 1707.*

*Nicephorus
gains ad-
vantages
Over the
Saracens.*

*Antioch be-
sieged.*

*The siege
raised.*

*Antioch
surprised
by Burt-
zas.*

A conspiracy against Nicephorus.

most fidelity and uncommon success, was likewise dismissed upon some groundless suspicion, and banished the court; a circumstance which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. Zimisces, highly provoked at the undeserved treatment he met with, conspired with Burtzas, and several others, and found means to draw into the conspiracy the empress herself, incensed against her husband, according to the most probable opinion, on account of his designing, as the apprehended, to make her two sons Basilius and Constantine eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother Leo. The empress was not only privy to the conspiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means Zimisces, and the other conspirators, were privately led into the palace in the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they dispatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his assistance. Leo Abalantius, cutting off the emperor's head, shewed it out of the window; which unexpected sight struck the guards with such terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther designs the conspirators had in view. Such was the end of Nicephorus Phocas, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and seventh of his reign. He was a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained several signal victories over the Saracens, drove them out of the island of Cyprus, recovered Cilicia and the greater part of Syria and Asia Minor, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived longer, have restored the empire to its ancient splendor: but his sordid avarice, and the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded his subjects, estranged from him the minds of the people; so that he was, notwithstanding the glory he had acquired in arms, universally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were so far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

John Zimisces proclaimed emperor.

John Zimisces was proclaimed by the conspirators, and universally acknowledged emperor. His first care was to remove from their employments, both in the state and army, all the friends of the deceased emperor; and among the rest Leo, the brother of Nicephorus, whom he confined to the island of Lesbos. All those who had been banished by his predecessor he recalled, and restored them to their former honours. When he thought himself by these precautions thoroughly settled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch: but Pityactus, meeting him at the door, opposed his entrance,

telling him, that he could not suffer the church to be profaned by one who had embrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, till he had atoned by a publice penance for so enormous a crime. Zimisces heard the patriarch with great submission; and being unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered to give what satisfaction should be thought proper, alleging at the same time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by Abalantius, at the instigation of the empress. The patriarch commanded him to banish them both, and to revoke all the edicts published by his predecessor to the prejudice of the church and the ecclesiasticks; which conditions he readily complying with, and at the same time promising to settle his paternal estate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great solemnity on Christmas day. As for the empress Theophano, she was banished into Agmenia, and there shut up in a monastery.

*Is crowned
by the pa-
triarch.*

The new emperor took her two sons Basilius and Constantine for his colleagues, and caused them to be acknowledged, as such by the senate and people of Constantinople. In the mean time the Saracens, hearing of the death of Nicephorus, raised one of the most numerous armies that had been seen for some ages in those parts; and, giving the command of it to Zochares, a person well skilled in the art of war, invaded Antioch, not doubting but they should be able to reduce the place before it could be relieved by the emperor: but notwithstanding their efforts, the besieged held out, till Nicolas, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raised what forces he could in Mesopotamia, and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to raise the siege, and return with shame and disgrace to their own territories. Next year the Rossi having driven out the Bulgarians, and seized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thousand men into the dominions of the empire; and, having desolated all Thrace, sat down before Adrianople. Zimisces having first endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement, ordered Bardas Sclerus, or the Bold, his wife's brother, to make head against them with what troops he could collect. Bardas, pursuant to his orders, marched to Adrianople, but not daring to venture an engagement, having but thirteen thousand men, he had recourse to stratagem. Drawing a strong party of the enemy into an ambuscade, he first cut them off to a man; then falling suddenly upon the main body of their army, he defeated them with great slaughter, took an insensible number of

Yr. of Fl.
332.
A.D. 964.
U.C. 1718.

*The Sar-
cens de-
feated be-
fore Au-
toch.*

*The Rossi
defeated by
Bardas
Sclerus.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

followers, and would not have suffered one to escape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the pursuit. The Romans are said to have lost but twenty-five men in both engagements.

Bardas
Phocas re-
volts:

The success which attended the emperor's arms abroad, did not deter several of the nobility from conspiring against him at home, with a design to raise to the empire Bardas Phocas, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends in Constantinople, withdrew from Amasia, the place of his banishment. Being joined by several persons of distinction, he made himself master of Cesarea in Cappadocia, and took upon him the imperial title and ensigns. At the same time Leb, the father of Phocas, who had been confined to the island of Lesbos, attempted to make his escape from thence with his other son Nicephorus, in order to join Bardas; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and Nicephorus were sentenced to death, though soon after pardoned by the emperor. In the mean time Bardas Selerus, who had been detached at the head of a considerable army against Phocas, arriving at Dorylaeum, the capital of Phrygia, endeavoured first by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been strictly enjoined by the emperor to abstain as much as possible from shedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promises, he left Dorylaeum, and advanced to Cesarea, in order to lay siege to the place. Upon his approach, those who had appeared the most fanguine in the revolt, agreed to abandon Phocas, and consult their own safety. Accordingly they withdrew with their attendants, before Bardas invested the place; so that Phocas, who had with him but a small number of troops, retired from Cesarea, and shut himself up in a strong castle called Cyprosium, which at first he resolved to defend to the utmost extremity. But when Bardas invested the place, and by repeated messages assured him of all imaginable kindness on his part, and at the same time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he submitted, and, depending upon the promises of Bardas, delivered himself into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent new disturbances, confined him to the island of Chios. The rebellion being thus suppressed, the emperor married with great solemnity Theodora, according to some the sister, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor Romanus.

Is aban-
doned by his
followers.

The rebel-
lion sup-
pressed.

Being informed that the Rossi, notwithstanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire again, he resolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raised a powerful army, and committed the administration of affairs at home to those ministers he had the greatest reason to confide in, he left Constantinople early in the spring; and, marching with great expedition over mount Haemus, invested Perkahiba, the principal city of Bulgaria, before the enemy received the least intelligence of his approach. A party of the Rossi, consisting of eight thousand men, attempted to throw themselves into the city, but were to a man either killed or taken prisoners by the Romans: among the latter was Sphagellus, a person of great authority among the Bulgarians. The Romans, animated with this success, attacked the city with great resolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, at the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could reduce it. Early next morning Zimisces, having drawn out his men, offered the besieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the signal for a general attack. The Rossi made a most vigorous resistance; but the Romans prevailing in the end, the city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, put to the sword by the incensed soldiery. Eight thousand Scythians, part of the garrison, finding the Romans masters of the city, retired to the citadel with a design to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Yr. of Fl.
1313.
A. D. 965.
U.C. 1712.

The emperor invades the country of the Rossi.

Take their metropolis by assault.

As the castle stood on a steep rock, and the Romans were already greatly fatigued, they seemed inclined to defer the assault till next day. But Zimisces, advancing in person against the enemy, at the head of a small band of chosen men, the whole army following him, every one striving who should first thrust himself between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The Scythians fought like men in despair; but the Romans, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, took the place by storm. All the Scythians were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the sword. In the city, when the first fury of the soldiery was over, the women and the children were spared, and, together with such men as were found without arms, made prisoners. Among the captives was Boril, king of the Bulgarians, who, being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received in a manner suitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and released with his wife and children, and all the Bulgarians, Zimisces declaring he was at war with none but the Rossi. The city of Perkahiba was destroy-

The citadel taken.

destroyed; but the emperor, having caused it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name Joannopolis. From thence he marched to Doroferum, a city of great strength on the Danube, where he was met by the army of the Rossi, three hundred and thirty thousand strong. However, he resolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the most bloody battles indeed we find recorded in history. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other.

The Rossi defeated with great slaughter. As night approached, the left wing of the Rossi began to give ground; a circumstance which the emperor observing, he charged them at the head of a chosen body with such resolution, that they betook themselves to a precipitate and disorderly flight.

Upon their retreat, the Romans, animated by the example of their prince, fell with fresh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and bearing all down before them, secured the day. The Rossi fled in the utmost confusion to Doroferum, whither the emperor pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, which brought on a second battle, wherein the Rossi were defeated again with terrible slaughter. However, they still held out, and in their daily sallies made dreadful havock of the Romans, till their provisions failing, they unanimously agreed to quit the city, and cut themselves a way, sword in hand, through the midst of the Roman army. They partly succeeded in this desperate attempt, though great numbers perished, and the rest were obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Their general, named Sphendosthalibus, finding himself no longer in a condition to oppose the Romans, sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to relinquish Bulgaria, and conclude a peace upon the following terms: that he should be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen should be suffered to return home unmolested; and that a free commerce should be settled between the two nations.

Peace between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, agreeing to these articles, the treaty was concluded, and signed by both parties. The war with the Rossi being terminated, to the great reputation of Zimisces, and the advantage of the empire, the emperor caused all the towns on the Danube to be fortified, and then returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. He was met at some distance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the senate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses. There he dismounted, and he placing the image

of

of the Virgin Mary in the church, followed it in a solemn procession, mounted on a white horse, and that inundated city amidst the joyful acclamations of the people.

During the war with the Ross, several cities in the East, which had been reduced by his predecessor, revolting, obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore Constantinople, he marched into the eastern provinces; and, having reduced several cities, partly by force, partly by negotiation, he advanced as far as Damascus, and there resided some time, applying himself with great attention to the affairs of state. During his stay in the East, he was informed, that Basilius the eunuch had engrossed almost the whole wealth of those provinces; that most of the fine palaces, and stately sarcophagi, which he observed on the road, belonged to him; and that in the late reign he had oppressed the people in a most cruel manner. Upon this information he exclaim'd, with a sigh, "How unhappy is the present condition of the Roman empire, which is thus pilfered by an avaricious and aspiring eunuch!" Basilius had served with great reputation under several emperors in their wars with the Saracens; and, as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the promotion of Nicephorus, who out of gratitude raised him to the post of prime minister, in which he was contumacious, for his great knowledge and experience in state-affairs. As he had many friends at court, he was soon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, resolved to provide for his own safety: accordingly, by large presents, and greater promises, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to mingle poison with his drink; and this brought him to bisecord, before he reached Constantinople. Though he suspected his prime minister, yet he would not suffer any inquiry to be made about the treason, but employed the short time he lived in exercises of Christian piety. He died in 968, after having reigned six years and as many months, and was universally lamented, especially by the inhabitants of Constantinople, whom he had freed of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessor.

He is deservedly reckoned among the best and greatest emperors, on account of his boundless moderation, courage, and piety. He was the first who caused the image of our Saviour to be suspended in the cities, with this legend, "Jesus Christ, the King of Angels." The writers of those

Zimisces
receives
several
cities in
Egyp.

Yr. of F.
3316.
A. D. 96.
U. C. 171.

He is poi-
soned by
Basilius the
eunuch.

He is the
best and
greatest.

times inform us, that in the last battle with the Rossi, a champion on a white horse was observed by the whole army fighting before the first ranks ; that to his single valour was owing the victory gained on that occasion ; and that as he had never been seen before, and disappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. Theodore the martyr, on whose anniversary the victory was obtained. The emperor himself adopted this opinion ; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of Euchancia, the city in which it stood, to that of Theodoropolis.

*Basilus
and Con-
stantine.*

Zimisces, having no children of his own, appointed Basilius and Constantine, the sons of the late emperor Romanus, by Theophano, for his successors. But as both princes were under age, the eldest being not nineteen, and the other seventeen, Basilius the eunuch took upon him the administration ; and the better to establish his authority, recalled their mother Theophano, who had been banished by Zimisces. His next care was to remove Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have spoken above. That officer had been rewarded for his eminent services by Zimisces with the chief command of all his forces in the East, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This popularity occasioned great jealousy in the prime minister, who deprived him of his command, and sent him into Mesopotamia, to restrain the incursions of the Saracens. Sclerus broke out into bitter invectives against Basilius ; but the prime minister threatening to deprive him of all his employments, and confine him to his house, he thought proper to obey the orders he had received.

*Bardas
Sclerus
seizes the
sovereign-
ty.*

He carried with him a firm resolution of being revenged on his rival ; accordingly, soon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers of the army with his design, who to a man promising to defend him, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was saluted as such with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having spent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the Saracens, who sent him large supplies of money and horses, he advanced in the beginning of the spring towards Constantinople. Basilius, struck with terror at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to avert the impending storm. He dispatched orders to Peter, who had been appointed, in the room of Sclerus, commander of the forces for the East, to assemble all his troops, and encamp with his

whole army in the neighbourhood of Cesarea. At the same time Syncelus, bishop of Nicomedia, a man famed for his eloquence, and the holiness of his life, was sent to prevail upon Sclerus to quit his unjust pretensions, and disband his army. The usurper received the prelate with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection; and, having heard him in appearance with great submission, returned this answer; that having once appeared in purple, he was firmly resolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the bishop to court, Peter was ordered to secure all the passes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in case he should be attacked, but by no means to begin hostilities.

Peter, pursuant to his orders, posted strong parties in all the passes; but Sclerus having, in spite of all opposition, opened a way into Cappadocia, encamped at a small distance from the imperial army. Several skirmishes ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But at length Sclerus, falling suddenly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence; and having forced the rest to save themselves by flight, made himself master of their camp, in which he found great sums of money, and an immense quantity of arms and provisions. The fame of this victory induced most of the eastern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for Sclerus, who, elated with his success, would not so much as admit the ambassadors to his presence, who were sent to him with very honourable and advantageous proposals. In

and def.

the imp.

ror's ar-

Yr. of 1
335.
A. D. 97
U.C. 172

In the mean time Leo, who had been appointed to succeed Peter in the command of the army, arriving in Phrygia, marched from thence at the head of a strong detachment into the eastern provinces, which had submitted to the usurper, but had been left quite destitute of troops. This motion obliged Sclerus to divide his army, and send a body of men to cover those countries. But Leo intercepting them on their march, a battle ensued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of Sclerus's men being slain, and many taken prisoners. The usurper, alarmed at this defeat, left Cappadocia, and coming up with Leo in a few days, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Most of the chief officers in the emperor's army were slain, and Leo himself was taken prisoner, with several other persons of great distinction. Those who had abandoned Sclerus to join Leo had their eyes pulled out by the usurper's orders at the head of the army. Leo himself was treated with great civility, but kept under close confinement.

He gains another victory.

He lays
siege to
Nice.

Bardas, elated with this success, marched to Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, not doubting but he should carry the place at the first assault. But Manuel Erotikus, whom Basilus had detached with a considerable body of troops to defend it, repulsed the usurper in several successive attempts, and acted with such vigour, that, despising of being able to take it by force, he resolved to reduce it by famine. Manuel, apprised of his design, and sensible of the great difficulties to which the numerous garrison would be soon reduced, filled the empty granaries with sand, which they strewed over with corn, and shewed them to some prisoners he had taken; who, being dismissed, represented to Sclerus, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine that was so plentifully supplied with corn. Soon after, Manuel sent deputies to acquaint Sclerus that, considering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to surrender upon certain conditions; one of which was, that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to retreat unmolested to Constantinople. To these conditions the usurper gladly consented; but was highly provoked when, entering the city, he discovered the deceit, and found the place entirely destitute of provisions. Sclerus, after the reduction of Nice, was preparing to march to Constantinople, where he had many friends ready to declare for him as soon as he appeared.

But in the mean time Bardas Phocas, whom Basilus had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief against Sclerus, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could raise, at Amofium, the usurper thought it adviseable to march in the first place against this formidable adversary. Accordingly he hastened with all his forces to Amofium, and an engagement ensuing, put Phocas's army to the rout. This general discharged all the offices of a valiant soldier and experienced officer, yet his soldiers were so dispirited by former defeat, that he could neither with words, nor by his example, inspire them with courage. No longer able to keep the field, he retired to Phrygia, and having received large supplies from Bleria, and the other provinces, which continued steadfast in their allegiance, resolved to hazard a second engagement. Accordingly, leaving Phrygia, he advanced into Cappadocia, where he found Sclerus encamped on a large plain named Pancala, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with inexpressible fury; but Phocas's men beginning, after an obstinate dispute, to give ground,

Bardas
Phocas de-
feated by
Sclerus.

the brave general, determined to conquer or perish, forced his way, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and engaging Sclerus himself, wounded him dangerously. Some of the enemy's officers, informed of the danger their general was in, flew to his rescue; and, finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain to wash his wound, and refresh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time his horse running in with his bloody mane among the ranks, his soldiers concluded that their general was slain; a notion which occasioned such consternation in the army, that instead of pursuing the emperor's troops, who had, in spite of Phocas's utmost endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themselves in the greatest confusion, some throwing themselves headlong down precipices, others plunging into the river Halys, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory by a lucky mistake, snatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were pursued with great slaughter by Phocas. Sclerus escaped with a small body of horse to Martyropolis, and from thence to Babylon, to implore the protection and assistance of Cosrhoe, sultan of the place; which design the emperor Basilius no sooner understood than he dispatched an embassy to Cosrhoe, representing the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting such as had, by an open revolt, taken arms against another. The deputies were at the same time enjoined to assure Sclerus, in the emperor's name, that he should not only be pardoned, but received into favour, and restored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretensions, and returned, to his duty. Cosrhoe, finding the ambassadors were privately treating with Sclerus, ordered both him and them to be thrown into prison, whence we shall see him in a short time released, to excite new disturbances in the empire.

Bardas gains a complete victory over the rebels;

who flies to Babylon.

The rebellion of Sclerus being suppressed, the emperor Basilius, who had taken the administration into his own hands, resolved to be revenged on the Bulgarians, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the East. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, without imparting his design either to Phocas, or any other of his generals, entered Bulgaria, and leaving Leo Melissenus to secure the narrow passes behind him, marched directly to Sardica. But while he was preparing to besiege that important place, Stephen, commander in chief of the western forces, and an avowed and irreconcileable enemy to Leo Melissenus, coming in the dead of night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aside

H. 4.

made all other designs, and immediately return with all possible expedition to Constantinople, whither Leo had already marched, in order to seize on the sovereignty in his absence. The emperor, alarmed at this information, and apprehending the enemy might, by seizing the posts which Leo was said to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in great consternation his army to march the same night; which motion being observed by Samuel, prince of the Bulgarians, he attacked them in their retreat, and put great numbers to the sword.

The emperor with great difficulty reached Philippopolis, where he found Leo carefully attending his duty on the station which had been assigned him. Highly incensed against Stephen, who had thus imposed upon him, he immediately discharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. Stephen however maintained to the last, that Leo really intended to usurp the empire; an assertion which incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he could not forbear striking him, and dragging him in a violent passion on the ground by his hair and long beard. The emperor had undertaken the Bulgarian expedition, as we have observed above, without imparting his design to Bardas Phocas, commander in chief of all the eastern forces. This omission that general highly resented; and, apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counsels, he began to entertain thoughts of usurping the supreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted his discontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promised to support him to the last; so that after several private conferences, they all assembled at the house of Eustathius Melenius, and there investing Phocas with the imperial ornaments, unanimously proclaimed him emperor.

At the same time Baydas Sclerus, being set at liberty by Chosrhoe, sultan of Babylon, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thousand Roman captives, the sultan having granted them their liberty, in reward of their eminent services against the rebellious Persians. With these Sclerus thought himself once more in a condition to renew his former pretensions; and, accordingly entering Mesopotamia, was acknowledged emperor. But being in the mean time informed of the revolt of Phocas, after having been some time in suspense whether he should join him or Basilus, he offered at length to assist Phocas, and share the empire with him; but at the same time he advised his son Romianus privately to abandon him, and fly

to Basilius at Constantinople. By these means, if Phocas prevailed, he thought he should be able to obtain his son's pardon; and if Basilius got the better, he did not doubt, but his son would have interest enough to obtain his of the emperor.

Romanus, upon his arrival at Constantinople, was received by Basilius with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and raised to the highest employments in the state. But Sclerus met with a far different treatment from Phocas: they agreed at first to divide the empire between them; Sclerus was to have Antioch, Phoenicia, Palestine, Coele-syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; Constantinople, with the rest of the provinces, was allotted to Phocas. This agreement being ratified and sworn to by both parties, Sclerus and Bardas joined their forces; a step which was no sooner taken than Phocas caused Sclerus to be privately seized, and having stripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to close prison. His troops at first mutinied; but being overpowered by numbers, they were forced to submit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promises to serve under Phocas; who being thus reinforced, sent Calocyrus Delphinus with part of his army to Chrysopolis, while he removed with the rest to Abydus, in order to besiege that important place, and after reducing it, to block up Constantinople itself. In the mean time the emperor Basilius, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having passed the straits in the night, suddenly attacked Delphinus, and having put his army to flight at the first onset, took him and some other officers of distinction prisoners, who were immediately nailed to several trees on the highway, to strike terror into the rest. Phocas met with a vigorous resistance at Abydus, the inhabitants and garrison being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor Basilius, and he soon after by his brother Constantine. Upon the arrival of the two princes, Phocas resolved to give them battle: accordingly, leaving part of his forces before Abydus to pursue the siege, he drew up the rest in a neighbouring plain. Some of the generals of the young prince advised them to throw themselves into Abydus, and wait the arrival of fresh supplies; but the greater part thinking it best to engage the enemy without loss of time, they marched at the head of their forces, in order of battle, into the plain where the usurper's army was already drawn up.

Either before the engagement, or after the battle began, Phocas was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related. Some say that his wife threw him, and

*They agree
to divide
the empire
between
them.*

*Phocas be-
trays and
slaves
Sclerus.*

*He lays
siege to
Abydus.*

*Fr. of W.
3324.
A.D. 976.
U.C. 1724.*

The Anglo-Saxon Library.

Books
and
Authors.

that he died of the falls, others, that he was killed in the first onset. The emperor Constantine boasted, that he had killed him with his own hand; but the most received opinion is, that one of his domestics, named Symeon, in whom he reposed entire confidence, at the instigation of Basilius, gave him poison before the battle, of which he died soon after. Be that as it may, the report of his death was no sooner known in the army, than his troops fled in a precipitate and disorderly manner. The emperor's forces pursued them closely, cut great numbers in pieces, and having taken most of the leading men of the party prisoners, conveyed them to Constantinople, where they were severely punished, some being publicly executed, and others stripped of their estates and sent into banishment. However, the death of Phocas, and the defeat of his army, did not put an end to the civil war; for such of the party as had the good fortune to make their escape, having set Sclerus at liberty, encouraged him to pursue his former pretensions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, listening to their suggestions, put himself at their head, and marching into Cappadocia, reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering his favour and protection, and his son Romanus earnestly intreating him at the same time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the remainder of his life in peace and tranquility among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretensions, and return to Constantinople, where he was received by Basilius with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great steward of the household. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the same employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable.

Recessus.

Books
and the
reading pro-
cessus.

The civil war being thus happily ended, Basilius made a progress into Thrace and Macedonia; and having left a sufficient number of troops at Theessalonica to awe the Bulgarians, he passed into Asia with the rest, to settle the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his march through Cappadocia he was entrained with his whole army by Eustathius Melanius, commander of the troops in that province. The great wealth which Melanius displayed on that occasion gave the emperor such umbrage, that, pretending a particular esteem for him, he took him to Constantinople, whence he never after suffered him to depart, lest he should raise commotions in the empire; and after his death seized on his vast estate. The emperor, upon his return to Constantinople, was informed that Otho, King

of the Bulgarians, had surprised the city of Thessalonica, and, having crossed the Peneus, was ravaging Thessaly, Boeotia, and Attica, and, that some of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of Peloponnesus. In consequence of this intelligence Nicephorus Uranus, commander in chief of the western forces, was dispatched against him, at the head of a powerful army. Uranus, leaving his baggage at Larissa, reached by long marches the Sperchius, and encamped with his whole army over-against the enemy, who lay on the opposite bank. At the river was greatly swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, Samuel, not imagining that the Romans would attempt to pass it, suffered his troops to disperse in large parties about the country in quest of booty: but Uranus having discovered a place where the river was fordable, passed it in the dead of night, and falling unexpectedly on the Bulgarians, who were for the most part asleep, killed great numbers, took their baggage, with many prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. Samuel and his son were dangerously wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themselves among the dead. Next night they stole away to the mountains of Aetolia, and from thence escaped into Bulgaria. In the following year the emperor Basilius entered Bulgaria, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; and, having defeated Samuel in a pitched battle on the banks of the Axios, took Vidina, Scopi, and several other strong cities. However, the emperor narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army in the treights of Cimba, where he was attacked by Samuel; but rescued from the danger he was in by the seasonable arrival of Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, who falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. Basilius having in the pursuit taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to Samuel; who, not able to endure the shock of such a horrid and affecting spectacle, fell into a deep swoon, and died two days after. Samuel was succeeded by his son Gabriel, who was soon after murdered by John Bladisthabitus, a person nearly related to him. Bladisthabitus being acknowledged prince of the Bulgarians, sent ambassadors to Basilius, offering to submit to any terms, and to own himself, and behave on all occasions, as a subject and vassal of the empire. The emperor received the embassy in a very condescending manner, but the new

Xr. of E.
3327.
A.D. 979.
U.C. 1787.

*His war
with the
Bulgarians.*

*Samuel,
king of the
Bulgarians, de-
feated.*

*Samuel
died.*

prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, Basilius returned the following year into Bulgaria, firmly resolved not to sheath his sword till he had entirely reduced it under his dominion.

Accordingly, in the space of two years he reduced most of the enemy's fortresses, and gained several victories over Bladistibus, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length slain in a battle fought near Achridus. At length the Bulgarians sent deputies to the Roman camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. Basilius received them with his usual civility; and, having raised to the rank of patricians such of the Bulgarian nobility as seemed most forward in surrendering their castles and forts, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of Achridus, where he found the vast treasures of the Bulgarian prince, which he distributed amongst his soldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her six daughters, and three of her sons, delivered herself up to the emperor, who received her with the greatest kindness and respect, and entertained her in a manner suitable to her rank. This clemency encouraged her three other sons, with most of the princeps of the blood, who had taken shelter among the mountains, to submit, and throw themselves upon the emperor's mercy.

*Ibatzes
who holds
out.*

*Achridus
and of
Daphnomelus.*

However, Ibatzes, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself during the whole course of the war, fled to a steep and craggy mountain, with a design to defend himself to the last extremity. Basilius endeavoured by fair means to induce him to submit to necessity, and comply with the present posture of affairs; but he equally despising the emperor's threats and promises, Eustathius Daphnomelus, whom Basilius had lately appointed governor of Achridus, without imparting his design to any one, repaired, with two persons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where Ibatzes had fortified himself. He hoped to pass undiscovered among the many strangers who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, for whom Ibatzes had a particular veneration; but being discovered by the guards, he was seized, and carried before Ibatzes, to whom he pretended to have matters of the greatest importance to communicate. Ibatzes received him in a very kind manner; and having, at his request, followed him into a remote place, Daphnomelus threw himself suddenly upon him; and his two men, who waited at some distance, and with whom the whole scheme had been concerted, coming up, and thrusting their daggers violently into his mouth, pulled out

out both his eyes, and got safe to an abandoned castle on the top of the hill, which Ibatzes's men invested on all sides, as soon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But Daphnomelus exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were destitute of a leader, to submit to the emperor, by whom he assured them, they should be well received, and amply rewarded, instead of attacking the castle, they congratulated Daphnomelus on his success, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the Romans. Hereupon Daphnomelus, quitting the castle, carried Ibatzes, without the least opposition, to Basilius, who, no less surprised at the boldness than the success of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of Dyrrachium, and all the rich moveables of his prisoner. Basilius, having at length accomplished the entire reduction of Bulgaria, returned with an incredible number of prisoners and hostages to Constantinople, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by the senate and people.

Bulgaria
entirely
subdued.

After the conclusion of this war, the emperor undertook an expedition into Iberia; but with what success we are not told. During his absence, Xiphius, and Nicephorus, the son of Bardas Phocas, revolted; but Xiphius being gained over by Basilius, suppressed the rebellion, by dispatching his fellow-conspirator. Basilius proceeded with great severity against all who had been, or were only suspected of having been, privy to the conspiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occasion either put to death, or sent into exile; which rigour occasioned some commotions at Constantinople: but the ringleaders being seized, and publicly executed, the city was restored to its former tranquility. In 1018, the emperor, though then in the seventieth year of his age, resolved to engage in another war against the Saracens, who had settled in Sicily, and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Naples and Calabria; which countries were still subject to the empire. Accordingly having assembled a powerful army, and equipped a formidable fleet, he detached a strong body of forces, under the conduct of Orestes, his favourite eunuch, intending to follow in person soon after with the rest of the army; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of December, after he had lived seventy years, and reigned fifty. He was greatly esteemed by his subjects for his application to public affairs, and his success in the long and bloody war which he undertook against the Bulgarians: but as his jealousy increased with his years, towards the close of his reign he grew exceedingly severe, on which ac-

Basilius
refuses to
make war
upon the
Saracens;

Yr. of Fl.
1018.
A.D. 1018.
U.C. 1756.

but is pro-
voked by
death.

count he was rather feared than beloved by his subjects. The absolute conquest of Bulgaria, which had been in vain attempted by so many of his predecessors, but was happily accomplished by him, has rendered the name of Basilus II. famous among the Roman, or rather the Constantinopolitan princes.

C H A P. LXX.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Death of Basilus II. to the Taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

Constan-
tine.
His conduct
reign.

BY the death of Basilus, Constantine, who had borne the name of emperor, in conjunction with his brother, remained sole master of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he entirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diversions, suffering his ministers, most of them persons no less infamous than himself, to oppress the provinces without control. By these means the empire, which had begun to revive under Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basilus, was, in the short reign of Constantine, brought to as low an ebb as it had ever experienced. Such persons, as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. Nicephorus Comnenus, a person go less esteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the same time deprived of his command and his life, under pretence of conspiring against the emperor, though, in reality, his eminent virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. Bardas, the son of the celebrated Phocas, who had served Basilus with the utmost fidelity, and distinguished himself on many occasions, was treated with the like severity. Many other persons of great distinction, who appeared to dislike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or sent into exile. Such proceedings raised a general discontent at home, and at the same time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were restrained by the care and vigilance of those who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the state, that Constantine's reign was short;

short; for he had scarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerously ill, and was given over by his physicians; a circumstance which divided the court into two factions concerning his successor; some proposing Constantine Dælassenus, commander of the forces in Armenia, and others using all their interest in favour of Romanus Argyrus, a person of an ancient family, nearly related to the emperor. As Constantine had three daughters, it was agreed, that whoever succeeded him should marry one of them. Romanus was already married, and therefore seemed, by this agreement, to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the most powerful at court, and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and sending for him gave him his choice, either to be deprived of his sight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, be raised to the dignity of Cæsar. Romanus seemed at first inclined rather to lose his eyes and the imperial dignity than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but she, informed of what passed, retired immediately to a monastery, and by embracing a monastic life, made room for Zoë, the emperor's second daughter, to whom Romanus was married, and at the same time created Cæsar. Three days after the nuptials, Constantine died, in the year 1021, the seventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a colleague.

Romanus, thus raised to the empire, began his reign by easing the people of the exorbitant taxes with which they had been burdened by his predecessor; a step which gained him the hearts of his subjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no less remarkable; for they were all ransomed at his private expence, supplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and sent to their respective countries¹. The Saracens, who had continued quiet in the reign of Basilius, but had begun to prepare for war in that of Constantine, now broke into that part of Syria which belonged to the Romans, and, with their daily incursions, greatly harrassed the territory of Antioch. Spondyles, who commanded the troops quartered in Antioch, and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to restrain them; but being in several encounters worsted, the emperor resolved to march in person into Syria, and retrieve, if possible, the reputation of the Roman arms. Pursuant to this resolution, he departed from Constantinople, at the head of a very numerous army. Before

Yr. of Fl.
3369.
U.C. 1021.
A.D. 1769.

Constantine
dies.

Romanus
II.

Yr. of Fl. 3370.
A.D. 362.
U. C. 170.

Romanus is present against the Saracens.

he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embassies from the Saracens of Mesopotamia, who, alarmed at his vast preparations, sued for peace, promising at the same time to pay their usual tribute for the future, and never more to infest the territories of the empire. Most of the officers in the army advised Romanus to accept of their submission, and not to engage rashly in a war, which, in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expensive : but he, promising himself great glory and advantages from that expedition, dismissed the envoys with disdain, and entering Syria, detached a strong party to observe the enemy's motions. The party, falling unawares into an ambuscade, were cut off to a man. The Saracens, elated with this success, attacked Constantine Delasenus, who had been sent out with a strong body of troops to cover the Roman foragers, put him to flight, and pursued him to the very gates of the camp, which they invested on all sides.

His army is cut off.

The baggage of the army recovered by Maniaces.

The emperor being soon reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions and water, it was agreed, in a council of war, that they should decamp in the night, and march to Antioch : but the Saracens, who vigilantly watched their motions, falling upon them with great violence in their retreat, put most of them to the sword, the emperor himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to Antioch. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage, which, however, was recovered by George Maniaces, at that time governor of a small town in those parts, in the following manner : eight hundred Saracens, loaded with the rich plunder of the emperor's camp, appeared before the place, and affirming that the emperor himself was taken, and his army totally defeated, summoned Maniaces to surrender. Maniaces, informed of the emperor's escape, but pretending to give credit to what they asserted, sent them out a great quantity of provisions to refresh themselves that night, and promised to deliver up the town as soon as it was light. In consequence of this promise the enemy, without the least distrust, passed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity ; but when they were intoxicated and asleep, Maniaces, rallying out, made a terrible slaughter ; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the spoils of the Roman army, he sent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this important service with the government of Media. In the mean time Romanus, having with difficulty reached Cappadocia, returned, with the remains of his shattered army, to Constantinople ; and there laying

aside all thoughts of any warlike attempts, made it his whole study to fill the treasury, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predecessor. With this view he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been entirely forgotten, and proceeded with such rigour in the recovery of them, that many persons of distinction were driven from their estates, and reduced with their families to beggary! These severe exactions raised a general discontent in the people, which gave rise to several plots and conspiracies, for the most part carried on by Theodora, the late emperor's youngest daughter, who was on that account confined to a monastery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we shall see her hereafter exchange for the imperial purple.

Romanus
oppresses
the people.

In 1025, the fourth of Romanus's reign, a dreadful plague infested Cappadocia, and raged with such violence in that province, as well as in Paphlagonia and Armenia, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings, and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which destroyed several cities, and overthrown many stately edifices at Constantinople, where it was felt for the space of forty days. At the same time a comet appeared, which passed with a terrible noise from the north to the south, the whole horizon seeming to be in a flame. Romanus, alarmed at these, and several other public calamities and prodigies, with which the histories of those times are filled, applied himself wholly to works of piety, hoping by these means to avert the wrath of Heaven, which seemed to threaten the empire. He erected several hospitals for the relief of the poor, repaired those which had been destroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, supplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monasteries, bestowing on the monks whole cities, and the most fruitful lands in the provinces, purchased by him at the public expence.

Several
public ca-
lamities.

In the mean time the empress Zoe, a most lewd and incontinent woman, despising her husband, now in the fifty-sixth year of his age, cast her eyes on Michael, the brother of John, an eunuch in great authority with the emperor. As Michael, though meanly born, was a man of a comely aspect, graceful person, and insinuating address, the empress began to entertain a violent passion for him; which, as she abandoned herself to it, grew in a short time so powerful, that she resolved to dispatch her husband, and espouse Michael. Accordingly, having imparted her design to such of her creatures as she could confide in, poison was administered

The em-
peror applies
himself
wholly to
works of
piety.

The em-
press falls
in love
with Mi-
chael.

Yr. of Pl.
3375.
A.D. 1027.
U.C. 773.

Romanus
murdered.

*Michael
the Pa-
plogonian
martyr
Zoe, and
is raised
to the em-
pire.*

reduced to the unhappy junto, when at that time reduced him to a most deplorable condition. However, the empress, thinking it too slow in its operation, hired an assassin, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreshing himself, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or, as others write, on the fifteenth of April of the year 1027; after he had reigned five years and six months.

Romanus being dead, the empress Zoe sent for the patriarch Alexius in great haste, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for Good Friday, for on that day the emperor was murdered. As Alexius had been sent for in Romanus's name, he was greatly surprised when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empress, upon his being introduced, ordered him to marry her to Michael. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for some time; but was at last, with a present of a hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. After the ceremony, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of Romanus, and his own marriage with Zoe, who, he said, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which she had an undoubted right. Letters to the same purpose were dispatched into the provinces, where none of the great men seemed displeased at the promotion of Michael, except Constantine Delphenus, who had been named to succeed Basilus II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the first man in the empire, was greatly offended that a person of Michael's obscure birth should be preferred to him. But John the eunuch, Michael's brother, having with repeated oaths, promises, and affevrations, prevailed upon him to come to court, banished him, as soon as he had him in his power, to the island Prota, whence he was removed to a strong tower, and kept under close confinement, till he was sent for to court by the empress Zoe, as we shall relate hereafter.

At the same time John took care to remove, and under various pretences to send into exile, those who gave him the least umbrage, or seemed to be ill affected to his family: Constantius Monomachus, afterwards emperor, was confined to a castle; Maniaces, who was highly esteemed and beloved by the people, was sent into Upper Media, under pretence of restraining the incursions of the Saracens; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their estates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. John, having established his brother's interest in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate

fate of Romanus; and, distrusting the fickle temper of Zoe, removed all the women in whom she reposed any confidence; and discharging her eunuchs, appointed others, in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch her: so that she could not stir out of the palace without his knowledge and consent. The empress, incensed at the restraint put upon her, and considering John as no other than her gaoler, endeavoured to dispatch him by poison; but the design being discovered before it could be put in execution, the minister stood henceforth on his guard, and watched her more narrowly. Michael the emperor suffered John to govern with absolute power, applying himself wholly to his devotions. Being conscious of the heinous crime he had committed, in murdering his sovereign, he hoped to make atonement by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hospitals, and oratories. As he began to grow distempered in his body, and disordered in his mind, John, concluding that, if he died, the empress would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if she succeeded, to gratify her revenge with the total ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer Michael, surnamed Calaphates, his sister's son, to the dignity of Cæsar, and to banish all the friends and relations of the empress Zoe.*

who governs without control.

*Michael
Calaphates
created
Cæsar.*

In the third year of Michael's reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the Saracens of Egypt, whose Kalif being dead, his widow is said to have embraced the Christian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her subjects and the Romans. The following year 1031 was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which damaged several cities in different parts of the empire, and for an attempt of the Saracens on the city of Edessa, which narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, presenting themselves before the gates, with five hundred horses, and as many camels, loaded with large chests, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying presents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve ambassadors, as they styled themselves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horses and camels; which distrust preserved the place; for the chests were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of night, were to seize on the city. The design was discovered by an Armenian to the governor; who, suddenly withdrawing from the banquet, and taking a sufficient force, surprised and put to the sword all

*An attempt
of the Sa-
racens up-
on Edessa
defeated.*

* *Cataphates, Cedrus, Zemar.*

the Saracens without the town; then returning to his guests, treated them in the like manner, sparing but one, whose hands, ears, and nose, he cut off, and sent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened.

*Vr. of Fl.
A.D. 1033
U.C. 1781.*

*The Bul-
garians re-
volt;*

*and the in-
habitants
of Dyrra-
chium.*

*The empe-
ror is put
to flight.*

*Thessalon-
ica besieged.*

The following year the Bulgarians revolted, and, shaking off the yoke, chose Deleanus, or, as some call him, Dolianus, for their king. He was servant to a citizen of Constantinople; but escaping from his master, fled into Bulgaria, his native country, pretending that he was the son of Gabriel, and grandson of Samuel. The Bulgarians, weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately submitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the Romans who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. At the same time the inhabitants of Dyrrachium, unable to bear the cruel exactions of their governor Michael Dernocaitas, drove him out of the town, and despairing of pardon, openly revolted, and chose Teichomerus, a soldier of great reputation amongst them, for their king. Deleanus, the new king of Bulgaria, no sooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to Teichomerus, offering to share the kingdom of Bulgaria with him, provided he joined him with all his followers. Teichomerus, not suspecting the least treachery, readily received him into Dyrrachium; but Deleanus, instead of performing his promise, caused the credulous and unhappy Teichomerus to be murdered: then marching to Thessalonica, where the emperor lay encamped, he struck, with his unexpected approach, such terror into the Roman army, that they fled with Michael in the utmost confusion to Constantinople, leaving all their baggage behind, under the care of Manuel Ibatza, who, betraying his trust, delivered it up to the enemy.

In the mean time Alusianus, the brother of John the last king of Bulgaria, who, when that country submitted to Basilius, had been raised to the dignity of a patrician, having made his escape from Constantinople, and got undiscovered into Bulgaria, was received by his countrymen with great demonstrations of joy. As he was a real descendent of the royal family, his arrival gave great umbrage to Deleanus, who, nevertheless, to ingratiate himself with the people, took him for his colleague in the empire, and sent him, at the head of forty thousand men, to besiege Thessalonica. Alusianus distinguished himself on that occasion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous opposition made by Constantine the patrician obliged him to raise the siege, and re-

tire, after he had lost fifteen thousand men in the undertaking. Deleanus seized this opportunity to lessen the credit of his colleague, publishing, that he maintained a private correspondence with the Romans : but Alusianus, apprised of his evil designs, resolved to frustrate his intentions. Accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he caused his eyes to be plucked out; and then, distrusting the fickle humour of the Bulgarians, returned to Constantinople, after his friends had obtained his pardon of the emperor. Upon his return Michael, though grievously afflicted with a dropsey, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and attacking the Bulgarians, now destitute of a head, put them to flight, and obliged them to submit once more to the yoke. The emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople ; but finding his distemper daily encreasing, he soon after divested himself of the imperial purple, and entering into a monastery, which he himself had built, spent the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of December 1035, after he had reigned seven years and eight months.

Upon his death Michael Calaphates, his sister's son, who had been created Cæsar, and at the same time adopted by Zoe, as some authors maintain, was proclaimed emperor. Upon his accession to the empire, probably out of complaisance to Zoe, who appeared very zealous in his interest, he banished his uncle John the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural severity against his other relations, causing most of them, without any regard to their age or circumstances, to be made eunuchs. Jealous of his authority, he caused the emperor to be confined to a monastery, under pretence that he had, by wile and sorcery, attempted to take away his life. His flagrant ingratitude to one who had been chiefly instrumental in his promotion, and was still held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to such a degree, that breaking out into a general sedition, with universal consent they sent for Theodora, the emperor Constantine's youngest daughter, who had been shut up in a monastery, as we have observed above, and saluted her empress, with her sister Zoe. Michael, finding the people in general incensed against him, voluntarily retired with his uncle Constantine to a monastery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that sacrifice to appease the enraged multitude : but Theodora, who was more provoked against them than Zoe herself, moving that their eyes should be plucked out, the populace, bursting into the church of St. John the Baptist, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the

The emperor enters Bulgaria, and reduces it; but resigns the empire.

*Yr. of Fl.
3384.
A.D. 1035.
U.C. 1784.*

*Michael
Calapha-
tes.*

*Zoe and
Theodora
raised to
the sove-
reignty.*

*Michael de-
posed and
banished.*
altar to the forum, and there, in a most cruel manner, deprived them of sight. They were afterwards banished, with all their relations and adherents, Michael having enjoyed the sovereignty scarce four months ².

*Yr. of Fl.
A.D. 1035.
U.C. 1785.*

*Zoe raised
to the
throne.
Zoe mar-
ries Con-
stantine
Monoma-
chus, who
is declared
emperor.*

*Maniaces
revolts;
but is mur-
dered.*

*The Ross
defeated.*

Zoe, finding herself once more vested with the sovereignty, banished all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile such as had served her father and uncle, preferring them to the first employments in the state and army. Among the rest Maniaces, was sent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the western forces. Zoe had scarce reigned three months, when the people pressing her to marry, and by that expedient prevent the disturbances that might arise among competitors for the empire, she recalled from banishment Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, a man of a noble extraction, and handsome person; and having married him, caused him to be crowned by the patriarch with the usual solemnity. He had been banished, during the reign of Michael, to the island of Lesbos, and from thence removed, at the instigation of John the eunuch, to Mitylene, where he was confined when sent for to court, and raised to the empire. He no sooner saw himself invested with the imperial dignity, than he banished the eunuch to the island of Lesbos; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's order, he died soon after. In the very beginning of Constantine's reign, Maniaces, resenting the ill treatment he received from Sclerus, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and assuming the imperial ornaments, passed with his army into Bulgaria, where he was joined by the malcontents of that country. Constantine dispatched ~~Stephen~~ Sebaptaphorus against him, at the head of a very numerous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by Maniaces at the first attack. Maniaces did not reap the fruit of his victory, being slain a few days after by a person unknown, who had the good fortune to make his escape. Upon his death, those who had been most forward in the rebellion, were the first who threw down their arms, and submitted to Stephen, the emperor's general, who, notwithstanding his defeat, was, on his return to Constantinople, honoured with a triumph.

At this juncture the Rossi, who had continued long quiet, appeared before Constantinople with a powerful fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the straits, they were glad to renew the ancient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in person into the East, and recovered several cities, which the Sa-

racers had seized in the two late reigns. But while he was pursuing the war with great success, Leo Ternicius, escaping from a monastery to which he had been confined, assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Leo was a person of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealousy, removed from his government of Iberia, and shut up in a monastery; but having found means to make his escape, he fled to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who had been lately offended by Monomachus. Being joined by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to Constantinople, and laid siege to that metropolis, but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants, and several of his accomplices abandoning him, he raised the siege, and retired to Arcadiopolis, where he defended himself for some time against the forces the emperor had sent to reduce him; but being at length overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and sent in chains to Monomachus, who first caused his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote island. The rebellion being thus happily suppressed almost in its birth, and the Saracens in the East awed by the emperor's presence, a profound tranquility reigned, during the two following years, throughout the provinces.

In 1041 the Roman dominions were invaded by an enemy scarce mentioned before in history; but reserved by Providence for the total destruction of the empire, which we shall see them accomplish four hundred years after this period, and put an end to the very name of a Roman empire. These were the Turks, who, quitting their ancient habitations in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, and passing the Caspian Streights, had settled in Armenia Major, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and despicable people, till the wars of the Saracens among themselves afforded an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The Saracens having, with amazing success and rapidity, subdued Persia, Aſſyria, Egypt, Africa, and a considerable part of Europe itself, divided their vast spreading dominions into several governments or principalities, which were ruled by their respective sultans or commanders, who, in process of time, quarrelling with one another, accelerated the ruin of the empire which they had so successfully established. About the year 1030 Mohammed, the son of Sambrael, sultan of Persia, not finding himself a match for Pisaris, sultan of Babylon, with whom he was at war, had recourse to the Turks, who sent him from Armenia Major three

Leo Ternicius revolts and besieges Constantinople.

He raises the siege, is taken, and deprived of sight.

The empire invaded by the Turks.

An account of them.

1818

The Constantinopolitan History.

thousand of their nation, under the conduct of Tangrolipix, Mohammed, strengthened with this supply, gained a complete victory over the sultan of Babylon; but when the Turks, to whom it was chiefly owing, desired leave to return home, he refused to comply with their just demand, being unwilling to part with them till he had ended the war in which he was engaged with the Indians. In consequence of this refusal the Turks, withdrawing without his consent to the desert of Carbonitis, and being joined by several discontented Persians, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the Saracens. Mohammed immediately dispatched an army of twenty thousand men against them, who were surprised in the night by Tangrolipix, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immense booty which the Turks acquired, drew multitudes to them from all parts, of criminals, fugitive slaves, and robbers; insomuch that Tangrolipix saw himself, in a short time, at the head of fifty thousand men. Mohammed, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals who had commanded them to be deprived of their sight, and at the same time a new army to be raised, which he headed in person; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement to animate his men, he fell from his horse, and soon after died. His death was no sooner known than his men threw down their arms, and submitting to Tangrolipix, proclaimed him king of Persia*.

Tangrolipix pro-
claimed
sultan of
Persia.

Reduces
Babylon.

This new monarch having first opened a passage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the Araxes, which separates it from Armenia, made war upon Pisaris or Pisafris, kalif of Babylon, whom he at length slew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then sent his nephew, Cutlu-Moses or Cuthmades, against the Arabians, but he was vanquished in a pitched battle, and obliged to take shelter in Media, through which Stephen, the Roman governor, denying him a passage, had put his troops to flight, took the governor himself prisoner, and, without any farther opposition, reached Briseium on the confines of Persia, where he sold Stephen for a slave. Returning to Tangrolipix he excused, in the best manner he could, the ill success of his expedition, acquainting him at the same time with his victory over the Romans in Media, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which he said might be easily subdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the Romans. Tangrolipix did not then listen to his advice, being wholly intent on revenging the late defeat on the

Arabians, against whom he marched in person, at the head of a numerous army; but being himself defeated by that warlike nation, he abandoned all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what Cutlu-Moses had told him, he sent Asan, his brother's son, surnamed the Deaf, with an army of twenty thousand men, to reduce Media; which Asan entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambush by the Roman generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. Tangrolipix, not discouraged at this misfortune, sent another army into Media, near a hundred thousand strong; who, after having ravaged the country without opposition, the Romans shutting themselves up in their fortresses, laid siege to Artza, a place of great trade, and on that account esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able by any other means to master it, they set fire to it, which in a short time reduced it to ashes. A hundred and fifty thousand and upwards of the inhabitants are said to have perished; either by the sword or in the flames.

*Is defeated
by the A-
rabians.*

*Inva-
des
Media.*

After this exploit Abraham Halfim, half-brother to Tangrolipix, who commanded the Turks, hearing that the Romans, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of Liparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be equalled. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length inclined to the Romans, who nevertheless did not think it prudent, as their general Liparites was taken prisoner, to pursue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of Liparites, dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, and a large sum, to redeem him, and at the same time to conclude an alliance with Tangrolipix. The sultan received the presents, but generously returned, with the money, to Liparites, whom he released without ransom, only requiring him at his departure, never more to bear arms against the Turks. Not long after this event Tangrolipix sent a person of great authority among the Turks, with the character of ambassador, to Constantinople, who having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was, by Monomachus, dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city.

*Is defeated
by the Ro-
mans.*

On his return he acquainted Tangrolipix with the reception he had met with, who thereupon resolved to renew the war. Monomachus, on the other hand, did not neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful an enemy: but was diverted from it by war, which suddenly

The Patzi-nace break into the empire;
 broke out between him and the Patzinace, a Scythian nation, whose king, named Tyrach, highly provoked at the kind reception Kegenes, one of his rebellious subjects, had received from the Romans, passed the Danube on the ice, and entering with eight hundred thousand men the Roman provinces, ravaged them with fire and sword. Constantine Arianites was dispatched against them with all the troops quartered in Macedonia and Bulgaria; but he, not daring to venture an engagement, suffered them to ravage the country without control, till great multitudes of them being swept off by the distempers which raged in their army, he was advised by Kegenes, who joined him with twenty thousand men, to take them by surprize; which scheme he executed with so much resolution, that the Barbarians, weakened by sickness, and terrified at so sudden an attack, threw down their arms and submitted. Great numbers were allowed to settle at Sardica, Naissus, Eutzopolis, and in other cities of Bulgaria; some returned to their own country; but Tyrach, and a hundred and forty of the most nobly among them, were sent to Constantinople, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and, upon their embracing the Christian religion, as Kegenes had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner suitable to their rank, and even raised to considerable employments. However, the emperor having detached fifteen thousand of those who had settled in Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catalunes, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in Iberia, they revolted on their march, and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the Danube, from whence they made frequent incursions into the Roman territories. The emperor sent some of his best generals against them, but was not able to suppress them, his forces being, in three successive engagements, defeated. Having at length resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them, they were so terrified at the report of the preparations the emperor was making, that they sued for peace, which was granted them for thirty years.

Doris laid waste by the Turks who besieged Mantzichtera;
 During this war, Tangrolipix entered Iberia, and having desolated the country far and near, returned from thence into Media, and besieged Mantzichtera, a place defended by a numerous garrison, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. As it was situated in a plain and open country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days, that

the besieged were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, despairing of success, he resolved to raise the siege, when Alcan, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit the conduct and management of the attacks to him. Thus impowered, he next day disposed his men with such skill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with so much bravery and resolution, that, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not Alcan been slain, while mounting the wall. The besieged, knowing him by the richness of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongst the enemy; who, disheartened at that sight, gave over the assault, and retired, Tangrolipix pretending some urgent affair had called him home.

*but are
forced to
raise the
siege.*

However, he returned the spring following, and ravaged Iberia, sparing neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of Michael Acoluthus, who opposed him, at the head of a considerable army, he retired to Tauris, leaving thirty thousand men behind, to infest the frontiers of the empire, which, through the avarice of Monomachus, were left unguarded. About this time died the empress Zoe, and her death was soon followed by that of the emperor himself. Though he had always expressed a great esteem and regard for Theodora, the sister of Zoe, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name Nicephorus for his successor, who commanded the forces in Bulgaria. But Theodora, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew from the monastery of St. George, whither she had attended him; and returning to Constantinople, with her most faithful friends, caused herself to be proclaimed, and saluted empress; a circumstance which gave Monomachus so much concern, that he died soon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months.

*The em-
pres Zoe
dies.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3398.
A.D. 1049.
U.C. 1792.*

*and Me-
machus.*

Theodora no sooner received intelligence of his death than she caused all those to be secured who had proposed the promotion of Nicephorus; and depriving them of their employments, appointed others in their room, in whom she thought she could confide. Theodorus the eunuch was sent, at the head of a considerable army, into the East, to awe the Turks, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented, with great care and vigilance, the ~~enemy~~ from making inroads into

Theodora.

^c *Nicoph. Bryenn. Cap. 4. Catep. Ibid.*

Her excellent government. the Roman territories; so that the eastern provinces enjoyed, during Theodora's short reign, a profound tranquility, to which they had been long strangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and ministers of state, her impartial administration of justice, and her great moderation in the use of the authority with which she was vested, gained her the affections of her people, and the respect and esteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many blessings that attended her administration; for, in the second year of her reign, she was seized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days deprived her of life. Before she died, she was persuaded by Leo Strabospondylus, her prime minister, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to Michael Stratoticus, a person advanced in years, and altogether ignorant of state-affairs, a circumstance which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with absolute power. Theodora died, soon after she had named him, in the month of August 1051, having reigned one year and nine months.

Michael Stratoticus.

The death of Theodora, and promotion of Michael, which had been managed with the utmost secrecy, being known at the same time, Theodorus, cousin-german to the deceased emperor, claiming the empire, as of right belonging to him, protested against what had been done in favour of Michael; and summoning all his friends, servants, and dependents, moved in the evening with a great train through the most frequented streets to the palace; but finding the gates shut and strongly guarded, he proceeded to the great church; not doubting but he should be well received by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refusing to admit him, he had recourse to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promises, continued firm in the resolution they had taken a few hours before to support Michael. Theodorus, now convinced he could not succeed in his attempt, and dreading the resentment of the emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his son in the church; but he was soon dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and banished to Pergamum, where he died some years after.

A rebellion suppressed.

The rebellion being suppressed, Michael enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but soon appeared altogether unequal to his situation. As he was an entire stranger to state-affairs, he suffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without control. At their instigation he offended most of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as

Michael offends the officers of the army.

his chief support, and among the rest Isaac Comnenus, and Ambustus Catacas, men renowned for their eminent services and experience. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of Antioch, recalling Bryennius, a man of a turbulent and restless spirit, who had been banished by Theodora, and appointing him commander in chief of the eastern forces. Bryennius, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his estate, which had been confiscated in the late reign, but met with a positive denial; which provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command against the person by whom that command had been bestowed. Having ^{Several of} imparted his design to Ambustus, Comnenus, and several ^{them con-} others, who had been disgusted by Michael, ^{spire a-} they all met, ^{gained him.} in order to proceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, Ambustus was chosen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, Isaac Comnenus was proposed next, as a person in every respect well qualified for so great a trust. As the proposal was received with great applause, Comnenus did not oppose it, but suffered the conspirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising at the same time to govern with justice and moderation. After this ceremony, they departed from Constantinople, where they had assembled, according to custom, at Easter, and repaired to their several posts, where each of them was, in his respective station, to promote the general design. Bryennius hastened to the army in the East; but, disagreeing with John Opsaras, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to distribute a bounty among the soldiers, the quarrel was carried to such a height, that Bryennius, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed Opsaras to custody, after having caused him to be publicly scourged with rods. Lycanthes, who commanded in that neighbourhood a strong body of Lycaonians and Pisidians, concluding that Bryennius designed to revolt, attacked him in his camp; and, having taken him prisoner, delivered him to Opsaras, by whose orders he was deprived of sight. The officers of the East, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their designs (for he was sent in chains to the emperor), resolved openly to declare themselves; and accordingly, having assembled in a spacious plain, all the forces under their command, they sent for Comnenus, who was then at his house in Paphlagonia, and presented him in the imperial robes to the soldiers, by whom he was, with univer-

Yr. of Fl.
340s.
A.D. 1053.
U.C. 180s.

Isaac Com-
nenus fa-
luted em-
peror.

universal consent, saluted emperor on the eighth of June, 1053.

An army sent against him;

Comnenus, thus raised to the imperial dignity, assumed the command of the army, with which he immediately marched over the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major, directing his route towards Nice, which he surprised, most of the soldiers who garrisoned it being retired to their own homes. In the mean time Stratoticus, receiving news of the revolt, assembled all the forces quartered in the West; and, having mustered his army, chose for his generals Theodorus the eunuch, and Aaron Ducas, an officer of great experience, and brother to the wife of Comnenus. The two generals marched at the head of their army to Nicomedia, and from thence to Nice, in the neighbourhood of which city they found Comnenus encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, Ambustus having the command of the left wing, Romanus Sclerus of the right, and Comnenus himself of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity. At first Aaron, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the opposite wing of the enemy, took Romanus himself prisoner, and pursued the fugitives to their camp. But Ambustus, on the other side, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with fresh vigour the emperor's left wing, obliged them to retire in some confusion. In their retreat they were attacked by Comnenus, and easily put to flight; a circumstance which so discouraged the rest of the emperor's troops, that, throwing away their arms, they fled in great disorder.

which is defeated by Comnenus.

Comnenus, having gained a complete victory, began his march to Constantinople, not doubting but the citizens would open their gates to him, as soon as he appeared before them. In the mean time Stratoticus, informed of the overthrow of his forces, sent some of the chief men in the senate to Comnenus, with proposals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: that Comnenus should be declared Cæsar; that a full pardon should be granted to all his followers; and that those who enjoyed employments should be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himself soon after he had ratified it; for, at the instigation of his courtiers, he obliged, partly by promises, partly by menaces, the senate and people to bind themselves by a most solemn oath never to give Comnenus the title

title of emperor; nor own him for their sovereign. This oath was exacted when Comnenus was in Asia; but intelligence was no sooner brought that he was within a day's march of Constantinople, than he was, by a decree of the senate, and the unanimous consent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all those, who should oppose him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being passed in the senate without opposition, the patriarch dispatched messengers to Comnenus, inviting him to the city, and at the same time sent some bishops to Stratioticus, commanding him in the name of the senate and people to resign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace.

Stratioticus forced to resign.

Comnenus arrived that evening, and was next day, the first of September, 1055, crowned in the great church by the patriarch Michael Cerularius⁴. The emperor's first care was to reward those, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whose nephews and relations he preferred to the first employments in the state. As he was well skilled in military affairs, and had given signal proofs of his courage and resolution, the neighbouring Barbarians continued quiet during his short reign. At home he was more dreaded, on account of his severity, than beloved. As he found the treasury quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monasteries, depriving them of the immense wealth with which they had been enriched by his predecessors. This conduct the patriarch highly resented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne to which he had raised him, unless he restored to the churches the estates which he had unjustly seized.

Yr. of Fl.
3404.
A.D. 1055.
U.C. 1804.

But the emperor, instead of yielding to his threats, immediately banished him, and raised Constantine Lichudes to the patriarchal see in his room. Isaac had not reigned above two years, when he was seized with a violent temper, occasioned, as some authors pretend, by a flash of lightning. Being sensible that his end approached, and at the same time touched with remorse in reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily resigned it, and retiring to a monastery, spent the remainder of his days in exercises of piety, having reigned only two years and three months.

He banishes the patriarch.

Being advised, before he resigned, to choose a successor, though he had several children and near relations, yet preferring the public good to his private interest, he nominated Constantine Ducas, a person generally esteemed the best

Yr. of Fl.
3406.
A.D. 1057.
U.C. 1806.

⁴ *Curopalat, Cedren, Zonar. in Stratiot. & Isaac Comn.*

*He reigns
the empire
to Constanti-
nople.* qualified in the whole empire for so eminent a station. Duca, thus chosen by Comnenus, and received by the senate and people, was crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch. He applied himself with great diligence to the affairs of the state, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, reformed several abuses which had prevailed under his predecessors, and behaved on all occasions with such moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongst the best of princes, had not his insatiable avarice obscured in a manner all his good qualities. He chose rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the necessary garrisons; a neglect which encouraged the Turks to extend their conquests on all sides, and the Uzians, a Scythian nation, to pass the Danube to the number of five hundred thousand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. Nicephorus Botoniates, afterwards emperor, and Basilus Apocapes, were sent against them. But the Barbarians having defeated the emperor's forces, and taken both the generals in the pursuit, desolated Thrace and Macedon; and, penetrating without opposition into Greece, ravaged it with fire and sword. The emperor, affected with the calamities of his subjects, but unwilling to be at the charge of raising the necessary forces to deliver them from the oppression under which they groaned, endeavoured to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even by promising to pay an annual tribute. To such meanness was the emperor brought by his sordid temper. But the Barbarians rejecting his terms, he ordered a general fast to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched against them with a handful of men.

*but are cut
off by the
Hungarians.*

Yr. of Fl.

3412.

A.D. 1063.

B.C. 3412.

*Constantine
Ducas dies.*

In the mean time the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that reigned among them, the Hungari or Hungarians, whose country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and made terrible havock. Nothing else happened, during this inactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned several stately edifices at Constantinople; and the appearance of a comet, which was seen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. Indeed Constantine was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which in a few days terminated his life. He left the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empress Eudocia, their mother, regent during their minority, after having exacted of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great solemnity in the hands of the patriarch.

He likewise obliged the senators solemnly to swear, that they would acknowledge none for their sovereign but his three sons. Having thus secured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1063, after having reigned five years and six months. He was no sooner dead than the Turks, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. The empress was not in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life-time, and the troops, that were still on foot, being undisciplined, and altogether unfit for service. This misfortune was aggravated by the seditious speeches of a discontented party at home, repeating in all assemblies, that the present state of the empire required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak and helpless woman. As they imagined the empress would never think of marrying, in violation of the oath she had taken, they hoped to induce the people to revolt, and choose a new emperor. Eudocia was aware of their sentiments; therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, she resolved to espouse some person of merit, capable of defeating the designs of her enemies both at home and abroad.

At this time Romanus Diogenes, a person of a most beautiful aspect, extraordinary parts, and an illustrious birth (for he was descended from the emperor Romanus Argyrus), being accused of aspiring to the empire, tried and convicted, was brought before Eudocia to receive the sentence of death, which his ambition had deserved. But the empress, touched with compassion at the appearance of the unhappy prisoner, who, she thought, deserved a better fate, having gently upbraided him for his revolt, granted him a free pardon, and soon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which station he acquitted himself so well, that the empress resolved to marry him, if she could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. With this view, she applied herself to a favourite eunuch, who going to the patriarch, told John Xiphilinus that the empress was so enamoured with his nephew Bardas, that she was determined to marry him, and raise him to the empire, provided he absolved her from the oath she had lately taken, and convinced the senate of the lawfulness of such a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great probity and learning, yet, dazzled with the prospect of his nephew's

*The Turks
invade the
empire..*

promotion, readily undertook to perform both; accordingly, having first obtained the consent of the senate, by representing the dangerous condition of the empire, and exclaiming against the rash oath, which the jealousy of the late emperor, had extorted, he publicly discharged the empress from the observance of it, restored the writing, and exhorted her to marry some deserving person, who, being entrusted with an absolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire against the many enemies who threatened it, and were not to be repressed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children.

*The em-
press mar-
ries him.*

The empress, thus absolved of her oath, married a few days after, to the great disappointment of the patriarch, Romanus Diogenes, who was immediately proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience, he no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power than, taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into Asia with the few forces he could assemble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to military discipline, which had been altogether neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in Asia, he was informed that the Turks, having surprised and plundered the city of Neocæsarea, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, pursuing them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, he overtook them the third day; and falling upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a strong castle.

*His success
against the
Turks.*

As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind him, he was opposed by a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he repulsed them at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it prudent to pursue them. After this exploit, several towns submitted, the Turks abandoning them upon the first news of his approach. But winter approaching, he retired to Cilicia, and from thence to Constantinople. The following year he visited Asia early in the spring; and being informed that the Turks having defeated Philaretus, who had been left to guard the banks of the Euphrates, had advanced into Cilicia, and surprised and sacked Iconium, the most rich and populous city of that province, he marched in person against them. But the Turks retired in great haste. However,

the Armenians, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, attacked the enemy in the plains of Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The emperor passed the remaining part of the summer in settling the affairs of the provinces; and upon the approach of winter, returned once more to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people. The spring following, the emperor marched again into Asia, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. As the Turks had already taken the field, several skirmishes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which Nicephorus Basilacius, one of the emperor's chief officers, was taken prisoner, and carried to Axan, the Turkish sultan, and son of the celebrated Tangrolipix, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies approached, the sultan, observing the disposition and number of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and sagacity, the uncertain issue of war, sent ambassadors to Romanus, with proposals for a lasting and honourable peace, which being rejected by the emperor with disdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's troops were not near so numerous as those of the enemy, Ruselius, one of his best commanders, having been detached with a considerable body, yet Romanus, presuming upon the courage of his men, and the success that had hitherto attended his arms, ordered the signal to be given, and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into some disorder. However, they soon rallied, and charged with fresh vigour; so that the dispute continued with various success, till the emperor, fearing the sultan should send part of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly guarded, caused, towards the close of day, a retreat to be sounded, and retired in good order with that part of the army which he commanded in person; but Andronicus, the son of John Ducas, brother to the late Emperor Constantine, and in his heart an enemy to Romanus, whose good fortune he envied, exclaimed, that the emperor was routed; and at the same time turning his horse, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The rest of the army followed his example, and were pursued by the Turks, who in the confusion put great numbers to the sword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally, and face the enemy; but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, they continued their flight, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. The

*He rejects
the propos-
als of the
sultan.*

He is defeated, and taken prisoner;

but kindly entertained, and set at liberty by the sultan.

Michael Ducas proclaimed emperor.

Yr. of Fl.

3416.

A.D. 1067.

U.C. 1816.

Romanus dies.

emperor, though forsaken by his army, stood his ground, till himself being wounded, and his horse killed under him, he was at length overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. When news were first brought to the sultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it; but being assured of the truth, both by the ambassadors, whom he had sent before the battle, and by Basilicus, his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, “Grieve not, noble emperor (said he), at your misfortune; for such is the chance of war, sometimes overwhelming one, and sometimes another; you shall have no occasion to complain of your captivity; for I will not use you as my prisoner, but as an ‘emperor.’” a promise which he performed accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, assigning him attendants, with an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharging such prisoners as he desired. After he had entertained for some days his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor dismissed with the greatest marks of honour imaginable. Being thus released, he proceeded, attended by the sultan’s ambassadors, for Constantinople, where the peace was to be ratified. He halted at Theodosiopolis, and continued some days there to have his wounds dressed, with a design to pursue his journey to the imperial city, as soon as he was able to travel; but in the mean time he was informed, that John, the brother of Constantine Ducas, with Psellus, a leading man in the senate, and several others, having, upon intelligence of his captivity, driven Eudocia from the throne, and shut her up in a monastery, had proclaimed her eldest son Michael Ducas emperor. Upon this information he left Theodosiopolis, and repairing to a strong castle called Docia, fortified himself, not doubting that he should be soon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and soldiers, who had served under him; but in the mean time John, who acted as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an absolute sway, dispatched his eldest son Andronicus against him with a strong body of troops who, having defeated the small army under the unfortunate prince, pursued him to Adana, a city in Cilicia, where he was closely besieged, and forced to surrender. Andronicus carried his prisoner into Phrygia, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was suspected, secretly poisoned. The poison being too slow in its operation, John ordered his eyes to be pulled out, an operation which was performed with such cruelty, that he died soon after in the island Prosa, to which he had been confined, having reigned

reigned three years and eight months⁵. Romanus Diogenes being removed, Michael Ducas was universally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and inactive prince, the whole power was lodged in John, his uncle, who preferred such only as had been instrumental in the late revolution, and, under various pretences, banished those who gave him the least umbrage.

In the mean time Axan, the Turkish sultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, resolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally: accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he invaded the territories of the empire, not with a design only to spoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer, and hold what he should conquer. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the Turks, dispatched Isaac Comnenus, son to the late emperor of that name, against them, who gained at first some advantages over them; but having soon after hazarded a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obstinate dispute, totally defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Another army was soon sent against them, under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have restrained their farther conquests, had he not been diverted by Ruselius, or Urselius, a native of Gaul, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced several cities in Phrygia and Cappadocia, causing himself in every place to be proclaimed emperor. John marched against him with all his forces, suffering the Turks in the mean time to pursue their conquests; but, coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the Sangarius, he was totally defeated, and taken prisoner.

Notwithstanding this victory, Ruselius, to stop the progress of the Turks, who threatened the empire with destruction, not only released his prisoner, but joined him against the common enemy, by whom they were both vanquished, and taken prisoners. However, Axan was for some time prevented from pursuing his conquests, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by Cutlu-Moses, cousin to the late sultan Tangrolipix, from whom he had revolted; but, being defeated in a pitched battle, he had taken refuge in Arabia, whence he now returned, at the head of a considerable army; and, laying claim to the sovereignty, was preparing to decide the controversy by force of arms. While the two armies were ready to engage, the kalif of Babylon, who had been deprived of his temporal jurisdiction by Tangrolipix,

*The Turks
invade the
empire.*

*Defeat the
emperor's
army.*

*Gain a
second
victory.*

⁵ *Nicoph. Bryenni, cap. 49. Cyprian, in Rom. Diog.*

but still continued to exercise his authority in matters of religion, being revered as the successor of their great prophet, interposed; and by representing the dangers to which their intestine dissensions exposed them, brought them to this agreement: that Axan should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father Fangrolipiz; and that Cutlu-Moses, and his family, should quietly possess such provinces of the empire as he or his sons should, in process of time, subdue.

*The pro-
gress of the
Turks.*

*Ruselius
revolts.*

*The rebe-
lition sup-
pressed by
Alexius
Comnenus.*

This agreement being made, Cutlu-Moses turned all his forces against the empire; and, being assisted by Axan, made himself, in this and the following reign, master of all Media, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, fixing the seat of his new empire at Nice, in the latter province. While the Turks were engaged in reducing the above mentioned provinces, Ruselius, who had been ransomed by his wife, and, notwithstanding his late revolt, restored to favour, and entrusted with a considerable command in Asia Minor, revolted again; and, depending upon the assistance of the Turks, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, was proclaimed emperor. Michael sent the best commanders in the empire against him; but they were all successively overcome in the several battles that were fought, Ruselius being powerfully supported by the Turks, whose interest it was to sow and maintain divisions in the empire. At length the emperor was advised to send Alexius Comnenus against him, he being esteemed, though then very young, a man of uncommon address, and well skilled in the art of war. Alexius, by intercepting the enemies provisions, and constantly harassing them on their marches, without ever coming to action, reduced them in a short time to such distress, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the sultan, where they were kindly entertained, and supplied with necessaries at the public expence. But Alexius applying to Tutach, the Turkish commander in those parts, prevailed upon him with a large sum to seize on Ruselius, and send him in chains to Amasia, whence he was conveyed to Constantinople. The rebels, destitute of a leader, soon submitted, and surrendered the cities and fortresses which they had reduced. The civil war being finished, Alexius returned to the imperial city, which he found greatly dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievously afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, instead of relieving the distressed inhabitants, had lessened the measure of corn, which deservedly procured him the nick-name of Parapanaces. The aversion which people of all ranks had to the emperor on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged

raged Nicephorus Botoniates, who commanded the forces in Asia, to enter into an alliance with the Turks, upon whom he had been commanded to make war. Cutlu-Moses promised to assist him to the utmost of his power; upon which he assumed the purple, and was saluted emperor by the army under his command. At the same time Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in Dyrrachium, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and depending upon the affection of his soldiers, whom he had gained by his liberality, was preparing to march to Constantinople. Michael, apprised that he was not in a condition to oppose either of the two competitors, resolved to resign the empire, and leave the throne empty for the successful usurper. Accordingly, divesting himself of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monastery, where he took orders, and was soon after raised to the see of Ephesus.⁸ He had reigned six years and as many months, and resigned in the year 1074.

Upon his abdication Botoniates entered Constantinople without opposition. Being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of March, he immediately dispatched Alexius Comnenus with the flower of his army against Bryennius, who was advancing with long marches to the imperial city, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he passed, he being universally beloved by the people, and esteemed as a person in every respect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at Calaura in Thrace; and an engagement ensuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the Scythians, who served under Bryennius, pursuing the advantage they had gained over the forces of Alexius, fell upon his baggage, and began to plunder; a circumstance which occasioned great confusion in the army of Bryennius, the rest of his troops following the example of those Barbarians. Of this Alexius took advantage; and charging them with fresh vigour, put them in disorder: however they rallied, and, encouraged by Bryennius, returned to the charge; but Alexius having, in the mean time, taken the horse of Bryennius, adorned as he was, according to the custom of those times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, proclaiming that the general was slain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and those of the enemy equally dispirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful. Bryennius, by shewing himself at the head

^{3423.}
A.D. 1074.
U.C. 7323.

Nicephorus
Botoniates
and Bryen-
nius re-
volt.

Michael
resigns.

Nicephorus
Botoniates
crowned
emperor.

⁸ Niceph. Bryenn. Hist. Michael. cap. 9—8. Ann. Comnen. lib. i. cap. 1.

Yr. of Fl. 1424. of his army, convinced them of their mistake; but as they were already put into confusion, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to prevent their flight, he was himself obliged to fly with the rest. As he was pursued close by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of personal valour: ^a

*Bryennius
defeated,
and taken
prisoner.*

Alexius received him in a most condescending manner, entertained him at his own table, and soon after, having put his troops into winter quarters, departed with his unfortunate prisoner for Constantinople. He was met on the road by Borilus, with orders from court to deliver up Bryennius to him, and march against Basilacius, who had been proclaimed emperor at Dyrrachium: being supported by all the men of interest in the West, he had surprised Thessalonica, and was preparing to attack the imperial city at the head of a considerable army. Alexius, having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched against the enemy; and encamping at a small distance from Basilacius, began to ravage and lay waste the neighbouring country. Basilacius, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, resolved to storm his camp in the night; a project which he executed accordingly; but Alexius, informed privately of his design, received him, while he expected to meet with no opposition, so warmly, that his forces were soon repulsed, and he obliged to throw himself, with part of his army, into Thessalonica, which was immediately invested by the conqueror.

*Basilacius
rescues;*
*but is de-
feated by
Alexius.*

Basilacius, who was a man of great resolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions offered by Alexius, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's resentment, opened their gates, allowing Basilacius time enough to retire into the castle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own troops, and delivered up to Alexius, who sent him to Constantinople, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and his person confined to a monastery ^b. As the emperor was advanced in years, and had no male issue, Borilus and Germanus, two brothers, natives of Scythia, and the chief favourites of Botoniates, persuaded him to name in his will Synademus for his successor, a youth of uncommon parts, and nearly related to the emperor. Though this intrigue was managed with great secrecy, yet Mary, the empress, had some intimation of it. She was first mar-

^a Niceph. Bryenn. in Boton. lib. i. cap. 1, 2. Ann. Comn. lib. i. cap. 2, 3.

ried to the emperor Michael Ducas, and afterwards to his successor Nicephorus Botoniates. By her former husband she had Constantine Ducas, who, by marrying the daughter of Botoniates, had acquired an indisputed right to succeed him in the empire.

The empress, therefore, incensed both against the emperor and his favourites, for, excluding her son from the empire, disclosed the whole to the two brothers Alexius and Isaac Comneni, who promised her all the assistance in their power. In the mean time the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empress and the Comneni, resolved to remove the two brothers out of the way. Of this design Alexius being seasonably informed, he applied to Pacurianus, an officer of great experience, and equally versed in state-affairs, acquainted him with the design they had formed of deposing the emperor, and intreated him to assist them with his advice. Pacurianus, having heard him with great attention, answered without the least hesitation, that if they withdrew to the army early next morning, he would attend them in their flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would discover their treasonable designs to the emperor. Alexius, charmed with this resolute and generous answer, fled in the morning, with his brother Isaac, Pacurianus, and the rest of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of Thrace. Upon their arrival they acquainted the chief officers with their design of creating a new emperor; which being universally approved of, a council was summoned; and after some deliberation, whether Isaac or Alexius should be raised to the empire, the latter was unanimously chosen, and saluted emperor by the whole army, which, without loss of time, he led to Constantinople, being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities through which he passed.

The inhabitants of Constantinople, intimidated by the troops of Botoniates, shut their gates against him; but an officer, to whose charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having privately admitted part of Alexius's forces, the gates were opened in the night to the rest, who, rushing in, made themselves masters of the city, before Botoniates knew it was assaulted. As Alexius's army was composed of Barbarians as well as Christians, the unhappy city was plundered in a most cruel manner, without any regard even to the churches, which, together with the monasteries, were stripped of their wealth and ornaments. George Palæologus, a person of great authority in the empire, and a zealous champion for the Comneni, easily

Alexius saluted emperor by the army.

He takes Constantinople.

prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of Constantinople, to declare for the new emperor. Botoniates, thus forsaken, sent some senators to Alexius, offering the whole power to him, provided he were suffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. Alexius was inclined to comply with his request; but John Ducas, brother to the late emperor Constantine Ducas, and an irreconcileable enemy to Botoniates, would not suffer him to come to an accommodation upon any terms whatever. Borilus the reigning favourite, observing with how much security the troops of Alexius ranged through the city in quest of plunder, assembled a considerable body of resolute men; and having encouraged them with large sums, and greater promises, was preparing to attack the unwary enemy: but Cosmas, the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, advising Botoniates rather to submit to Providence, and resign the empire, than suffer the city to be polluted with the effusion of Christian blood, he immediately embraced his counsel. Leaving the imperial palace, he withdrew to the great church, and from thence to a monastery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months.
*Botoniates
reigned.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3426.
A.D. 1077.
U.C. 1826.* Botoniates having resigned the sovereign power, Alexius was, by the unanimous consent of the senate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of April, 1077. His first care was to reward those who had been instrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the state, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. Constantine Ducas, the son of the late emperor Michael, was suffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other ensigns of sovereignty, pursuant to a promise which Alexius is said to have made to the empress Mary, before he took arms against Botoniates. As the barbarous behaviour of his soldiers, upon their first entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, Alexius, touched with remorse for the disorders they had committed, resolved to make an open confession, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch, and several other ecclesiastics in the garb of a penitent; and, acknowledging himself guilty of the many disorders that had been committed by his soldiers, intreated the patriarch to impose upon him a penance answerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch enjoined him, and all his relations

¹ *Aan. Comnen., lib. ii., cap. viii. & lib. iii., cap. i.*

and adherents, to fast, to lie upon the bare ground, and to practise several other austeries, for the space of forty days, which no person performed with more cheerfulness than the emperor himself. Having thus atoned for his crimes, or at least gained the affections and esteem of the clergy, he began to make the necessary preparations for checking the conquests of the Turks, who had seized on several provinces during the late distractions, and threatened to subvert the empire...

But Solyman, the son and successor of Cutlu-Moses, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, dispatched ambassadors to Alexius, with overtures for a lasting peace, which he at first rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, though he had gained several advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that Robert Guiscard, duke of Puglia and Calabria, was making great preparations against him in the West. Robert was by birth a Norman, the son of Tancred, lord of Hauteville, who having a numerous family, and but a small estate, sent his two eldest sons to try their fortune in the wars against the Saracens in Italy, where they distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner; and having expelled the Saracens, seized on the places they had possessed, establishing a new principality in Italy. Robert, the third son, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himself with the principality of Puglia, which he had enjoyed, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of Naples, and upon himself the title of duke of Puglia and Calabria. Towards the end of the reign of Botoniates, Michael, who had been forced to resign the empire, having made his escape into the West, prevailed upon Robert, whose daughter had been some years before betrothed to Constantine, Michael's son, to espouse his cause, and attempt his restoration. With this view Robert made great preparations both by sea and land, which were continued even after the resignation of Botoniates, Robert being determined to drive Alexius from the throne, if possible, and restore Michael, or, as some authors insinuate, to seize on the empire for himself.

Be that as it may, Robert, having left his son Roger as his lieutenant in Italy, sailed with all his forces from Brundusium; and landing at Buthrotum, in Epirus, reduced that place, while his son Bohemond, with part of the army, seized Aulon, a celebrated port and city in the country now called Albania. From thence they advanced to Dyrrachium, which they invested both by sea and land; but met

Yr. of Fl.
3429.
A.D. 1080.
U.C. 1829.

Robert
Guiscard's
expedition
against
Alexius.

Robert
passes over
into Epirus.

Takes Bu-
throtum
and Aulon.

with

with a most vigorous opposition from George Palæologus, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence of that important place, and who, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, held out, till the Venetians, with whom the emperor entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed fleet, engaged the enemy's squadron, commanded by Bohemond, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himself, whose ship was sunk with several others, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands.

After this victory, the Venetians landing without loss of time, and being joined by Palæologus from the town, fell with great fury upon Robert's men, who were employed in the siege, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them to their camp, returned to their ships loaded with booty. As the Venetians were masters at sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as usual, by a pestilential distemper, which is said to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months, among whom were some of the chief officers, and many other persons of distinction. However, Robert, who was a prince of great intrepidity, address, and resolution, pursued the siege, and having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to supply his famished troops with plenty of provisions, brought from Italy. Palæologus, finding the courage of the garrison and citizens began to fail, sent repeated advices to the emperor of the difficulties to which they would in all likelihood be reduced. Hereupon Alexius resolved to march in person to the relief of the place. Accordingly, leaving his brother Isaac at Constantinople, to prevent any disturbances there during his absence, he proceeded to Thessalonica : being there joined by Paeurianus and the troops under his command, he pursued his march with incredible expedition to Dyrachium ; and encamping at some distance from the town, on a rising-ground, with the sea on the left, and an inaccessible mountain on the right, he summoned a council of war. After a warm debate, it was resolved by a great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the army, that the whole should be put to the issue of an engagement ; which Robert was so far from declining, that, observing the emperor's preparations, he ordered all his ships to be sunk, giving his men to understand, that they had no hopes of safety but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at first the advantage, and drove a body of Robert's troops quite to the sea ; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by Gaita, Robert's wife, a

woman of masculine courage and behaviour, the battle was renewed with fresh vigour, and the victory long disputed.

At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly pressed by the enemy, the whole right wing ^{but is da-} fled in a most precipitate and disorderly manner: many of them escaped to a neighbouring church dedicated to St. Michael; but the victorious enemy pursuing them, set fire to the church, which was soon consumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, Robert having defeated the main body of the emperor's army, Alexius himself was forced to retire, though he was the last, if we may give credit to his daughter Anne Comnena, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, with an incredible number of officers and persons of distinction, among whom were Constantius the son of Constantine Ducas, Nicephorus Synadenus, Nicephorus Palæologus, the father of George, Zecharias, Aspetes, &c. The emperor with great difficulty made his escape, and reached Achris, leaving the enemy master of his camp, and the whole baggage of the army. Robert, elated with this victory, returned before Dyrrachium, which immediately surrendered, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far advanced, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a design to pursue his conquests early in the spring. In the mean time Alexius ordered fresh forces to be raised in all the provinces of the empire, seizing for that purpose, as the treasury was quite exhausted, on the wealth of the churches and monasteries; an expedient which gave great offence to the clergy, and had almost occasioned dreadful disturbances in the imperial city.

Dyrra-
chium fur-
renders.

At the same time Alexius entered into an alliance with Henry emperor of Germany, who, early in the spring, invaded Calabria at the head of a numerous army. Robert was no sooner informed of the emperor's motions than, summoning a council of war, he appointed his son Bohemond his lieutenant in the East; and having recommended him to the officers of the army, he advanced without delay to the relief of the pope, besieged by the emperor's forces in the castle of St. Angelo, retook Rome, and drove the emperor out of Italy, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place. In the mean time Bohemond reduced several places in Illyricum; and having defeated Alexius in two pitched battles, entered Thessaly, and invested Larissa; which being defended by an officer of great courage and experience, held out till the emperor, having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his arrival he found means to draw a strong party of Bohemond's men into an ambuscade,

Robert
obliges the
emperor
Henry to
quit Italy.
Several
places in
Illyricum
reduced by
Bohemond.

ambuscade, who were almost all cut off. However, in the battle which was fought a few days after, Bohemond had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refusing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father, in Italy. Alexius, taking advantage of his absence, recovered several cities. Being informed that Robert was making great preparations against him, he had recourse once more to the Venetians, who having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged Robert, and vanquished him in two successive battles, but were soon after surprised and defeated with the loss of almost their whole navy. We are told that Robert used his victory with the greatest barbarity, putting several of his prisoners to unspeakable torments.

Robert defeated by the Venetians.
A.D. 1083.
I.C. 1083.
He died.

The Venetians equipped a second fleet; and joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon Robert's navy, while they were riding, without the least apprehension of an enemy, near Buthrotum, sunk most of his ships, and took a great number of prisoners, his wife and younger sons having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Robert, not in the least dispirited by this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ships to be built, and levies to be made throughout his Italian dominions, with a design to pursue the war with more vigour than ever: but being in the mean time seized with a violent fever, he died in the island of Cephalenia, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death Roger, his son and successor, thinking it rash to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war, recalled his troops; so that Dyrrachium, and the other places which they had seized in Illyricum, submitted to the emperor^k.

In the Scythian war.

This war was scarce ended, when another broke out with the Scythians, who, passing the Danube, laid waste great part of Thrace, committing every-where horrid cruelties. The emperor dispatched Pacurianus and Branas against them, who, engaging the enemy, though far superior in numbers, were both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unspeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular esteem for Pacurianus, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This defeat was owing to the rashness of Branas, who in a manner forced his colleague to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. Talicius, who had signalized himself on several occasions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis,

^k Ann. Corante, lib. x. cap. 3—6. & lib. xi. cap. 1—5.

killed.

killed great numbers, and obliged the rest to retire in the utmost confusion. However, they returned in the spring following, in such force, that the emperor resolved to march against them in person. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he set out for Adrianople, and advanced to a place called Lardea, where, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; and, after a warm dispute, which lasted almost from morning to night, was utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the sword or taken prisoners, he himself escaping with the greatest difficulty to Berœ.

The emperor's army defeated by the Scythians.

The Turks, finding the chief strength of the empire was employed against the Scythians, broke with great violence into the Roman territories, and made themselves masters of several considerable places in Asia, and among the rest of Clazomene, Phocæa, Mitylene, Methymna; and soon after of the island of Chios. This sudden irruption obliged the emperor to send part of his forces into the East, under the conduct of John Ducas, brother to the empress, while he in person led the rest, reinforced with new levies, against the Scythians, by whom he was again defeated with great loss. He was betrayed by Neantzes, a Scythian, who had deserted in the beginning of the war, but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, so disheartened the Romans by his sudden flight, that they gave ground; being pressed by the enemy, and overpowered with numbers, they fled in great disorder, leaving the Scythians masters of their camp and baggage. However, Alexius afterwards gained a considerable advantage over them; and the year following, having vanquished them in a pitched battle, made such a dreadful havock of the fugitives, that few of them are said to have escaped the general slaughter¹. An end being put to the Scythian war by this victory, the emperor resolved to march in person against the Turks, with whom John Ducas, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various success. Tzachas, a leading man among the Turks, having reduced Smyrna, erected there a new principality, independent of the sultan, harassing, with frequent incursions, the neighbouring countries. He had, besides several other places, taken possession of Mitylene, which John Ducas, pursuant to his instructions, closely besieged by land, while Constantine Delassenus, who commanded the fleet, invested it by sea. But Tzachas, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a chosen body of troops, watching the motions of the Romans, intercepting

Yr. of Fl.
3433.
A.D. 1084.
U.C. 1833.

Alexius
gains a
complete
victory
over them.

Alexius's
wars with
the Turks.

¹ *Ann. Comnen.* lib. vi. cap. 13. &c. lib. vii. cap. 1—8.

their

The Constantinopolitan History.

their provisions, and harassing them with frequent and sudden attacks, which diverted them from pursuing the siege with due vigour.

But John Ducas, having at length driven Tzachas to an engagement, defeated him entirely; and, in consequence of this overthrow, he sent deputies to Lucas, with proposals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: that Tzachas should be allowed to retire unmolested to Smyrna; that Mitylene should be delivered up to the Romans; and that none of the inhabitants should be injured in their persons or estates, or be forced to attend Tzachas at his departure. These articles were mutually agreed to, and hostages delivered on both sides; but Tzachas having, in breach of the treaty, obliged several of the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and follow him, Delassenus sailed after him; and soon coming up with him, sunk most of his ships, put great numbers of his men to the sword, and released the captives, Tzachas himself having narrowly escaped falling into his hands by embarking in a light vessel, which carried him to Smyrna, where he ordered another fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raise to Abydos, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor: but the sultan, considering him as an enemy no less dangerous to himself than to the empire, marched against him in person, at the head of a powerful army, while Delassenus, the Roman admiral, cut off his retreat by sea. Tzachas, finding himself attacked by two powerful enemies at once, chose to submit to the sultan, whose daughter he had married. The sultan received him in a very obliging manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but in the height of his mirth, caused him to be murdered, and soon after concluded a peace with the emperor.

In the year 1093, the Scythian war broke out again, the Barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impostor, who, pretending to be Leo, the eldest son of the late emperor Romanus Diogenes, slain some years before in an engagement with the Turks, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the Scythians, who wanted only a pretence to renew hostilities. Alexius, having received timely advice of the design they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, visited the borders in person; and, having supplied the frontier towns with whatever was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of Anchialus on the Euxine Sea. There he was informed, that the Barbarians, having passed the Danube, and caused the impostor

to be proclaimed emperor in several towns, which had submitted to them, were advancing by long marches to Anchialus, in order to besiege it, and, by taking the emperor, finish the war at once. Upon this intelligence, Alexius, having left a sufficient garrison in the place, encamped with the rest of his forces on a rising-ground at a small distance from the city, and there fortified himself in such manner, that the Barbarians, after having surveyed his camp and works for three days together, thought proper to retire. Leaving Anchialus, which they could not invest without driving the emperor from his post, they marched to Adrianople, the impostor persuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up by Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in it, and had, as he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father Romanus Diogenes, when emperor.

*and besiege
Adrian-
ople;*

The credulous Barbarians marched cheerfully to Adrianople, but, contrary to their expectation, met with so vigorous a resistance, that, after they had contended seven weeks before it, they thought of abandoning the enterprize : but being encouraged by the pretended Leo to pursue the siege, the place was reduced to the utmost extremity, and must have submitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army named Alacaeus, preserved it by the following stratagem: imitation of the celebrated Zophyrus, he disfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition to the impostor, told him, that he was the son of one who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by Alexius, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The usurper crediting what he said, and reposing an entire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a chosen body of Scythians, to a fortification in that neighbourhood, which Alacaeus pretended the governor designed to betray into his hands. He was accordingly received into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince, and his Scythians, who, without the least apprehension of treachery, had drank to excess, were seized and loaded with chains. Alexius, informed of the event, marched with all possible expedition against the Scythians, now destitute of a leader; and, falling upon them before they had the least intelligence of his approach, slew seven thousand upon the spot, took three thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but being overthrown in two successive engagements, they sent

*which is
preserved
by a strata-
gem.*

*The Scyth-
ians defeat-
ed.*

A peace concluded with them. at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor's own terms^a. After this accommodation, Alexius returned to Constantinople, loaded with booty; which he generously divided among those who had distinguished themselves in the war.

The holy war.

During this stay at Constantinople, he was informed, that the western Christians were making great preparations for the recovery of the Holy Land, at that time possessed by the Turks and Saracens. As the fortunes of those adventurers are inseparably interwoven with the remaining part of this history, it might be justly deemed an unpardonable omission, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that induced them to engage in that undertaking, commonly known by the name of the Holy War, or the Crusade. About the year 1093, an hermit, named Peter, a native of Amiens in Picardy, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places. Observing the miserable condition of the Christians in Asia, Syria, and Palestine, at that time mostly possessed by the Turks, and the cruel usage they suffered from those infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, first with himself, and afterwards with Simon, then patriarch of Jerusalem, about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the Eastern empire was in too weak a condition to afford any hopes of redress, he resolved to apply to the western princes, and endeavour, to unite them in a league against the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy Christians, and the recovery of the Holy Land. Accordingly, having received pressing letters from the patriarch, and the grand master of the Hospitallers, to that purpose, for the pope, and all the Christian princes in the West, he undertook himself to be the messenger. Embarking in the first ship he found, he arrived at Bari in Puglia, and proceeding from thence to Rome, delivered the letters to pope Urban II. giving him at the same time a pathetic account of the inexpressible miseries the Christians suffered under the Turkish yoke, of which he had been an eyewitness.

The council of Clermont.

Having received all the encouragement he could desire from the pope, he applied to the other princes, and travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inspired both princes and people with the pious desire of relieving the oppressed Christians, and rescuing the Holy Land out of the hands of the Infidels. The pope, informed of this general disposition, summoned a council at Clermont in France, where three hundred and ten bishops met, and likewise the ambassadors of

most Christian princes; to whom Peter the hermit made an eloquent speech, representing the sufferings of the oppressed Christians, the desolation of the holy places, and the cruelty of the Turks, in such a pathetic manner, that a religious war was unanimously resolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one spirit, their consent, by often repeating aloud, *Deus vult, Deus vult!* *God will have it so, God will have it so!* Upon the dissolution of the council, the crusade was published by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the West, multitudes flocking from all parts, with red crosses on their breasts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the Holy Land, and redeem the Christians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are supposed to have amounted to three hundred thousand men, of whom the chief commanders were, Hugh brother to Philip I. king of France, Robert duke of Normandy, Robert earl of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, Stephen de Valois earl of Chartres, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and Peter the hermit.

To the latter was given the command of forty thousand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himself, and committing the other to the conduct of Gautier, a native of France, surnamed, from his being a soldier of fortune, the Moneylefs. Gautier began his march on the eighteenth of March, 1096, and passing through Germany, entered Hungary, where the inhabitants refusing to supply him and his army with the necessary provisions, he was forced to plunder the country. In consequence of this rapine, the Hungarians, attacking him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to save themselves among the woods and marshes, where they suffered inexpressible miseries, till the prince of Bulgaria, touched with compassion, furnished them with guides, who conducted them to Constantinople, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of Peter, who did not join them till the first of August, being constantly harassed on his march by the Hungarians, who flew above two thousand of his men, took all their baggage, and two thousand waggons, with the money designed to pay the army. To these hostilities Peter himself gave occasion, by suffering his men to commit all sorts of disorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment which the army under Gautier had experienced from the natives. Peter, having with difficulty reached Constantinople with the remains of his shattered army, was received, in appearance, with great marks of friendship and kindness by the emperor Alexius, who, nevertheless, was in his heart greatly alarmed.

Yr. of Fl.

3446.

A.D. 1095.

U.C. 1846.

*The cru-**sade pub-**lished.**The prin-**cial com-**manders.**Peter the**hermit be-**gins the**expedition.**His ill con-**duct.*

ed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not persuade himself, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in so hazardous an undertaking, upon the same motives. However, he supplied Peter's army with all manner of provisions; who thereupon passed the streights, and marching into Bithynia, encamped near the city of Nice.

Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of Godfrey's arrival at Philippopolis, with ten thousand horse and seventy thousand foot; an armament which gave him no small jealousy, the more, as Godfrey immediately dispatched an officer, to demand the liberty of Hugh, brother to the king of France, who, in his passage from Bari to Dyrrachium, being separated by a storm from the rest of the fleet, had been seized by the governor of that city, and sent to Constantinople, where he was detained prisoner. As

Godfrey marches in an hostile manner to Constantinople.

the emperor refused, under various pretences, to release his prisoner, Godfrey, who was already advanced as far as Adrianople, began to act against him as an open enemy, ravaging the country, and marching directly to Constantinople. Alexius, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, complied with his demand, promising at the same time to supply his army with provisions; which however he neglected to do, and by that omission provoked Godfrey to such a degree, that he desolated the whole neighbouring country, to the very gates of Constantinople. Alexius, apprehensive that he would fall upon the imperial city itself, sent ambassadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own son as a hostage, and promising the enraged prince all possible satisfaction. Godfrey having received the envoys in a most obliging manner, and put a stop to all hostilities, the emperor invited him, and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were treated with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the crusade.

After several conferences, and warm disputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and Alexius; that, during the expedition the emperor should assist them with all his forces, supply them with arms, provisions, and other necessaries, and consider them on all occasions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to restore to the empire such provinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the Turks and Saracens. Soon after this accommodation, the other princes arrived by different routes, at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. After a short

stay at Constantinople, the forces passed the Bosporus, and encamped near Chalcedon, with a design to advance to Nice, and lay siege to that important city.

While Godfrey and the other princes were on their march, the army commanded by Peter the hermit, which had entered Bithynia, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Nice, began to mutiny; and depositing Gautier, advanced Raymond, a German commander of great reputation, in his room. After this transaction, the Germans and Italians, separating from the French, encamped on different ground. A strong party of the Italians, having made themselves masters of a town called Xerigordus, were surprised by the Turks, and put to the sword. The French, who lay encamped near Helenopolis and Cibolus, two villages on the gulf of Nicomedia, were, by the Turkish commander, drawn into an ambuscade, and mostly either cut off, or taken prisoners; so that of the forty thousand men commanded by Peter, scarce three thousand were left, who, with him, took refuge in Cinite; which place they defended till the arrival of Godfrey, and the other princes of the crusade, with whom they marched to Nice; which city was invested by the Christian princes in the month of May, 1097. As the place had been strongly fortified by Solyman, then sultan of the Turks, who had chosen it for the seat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous garrison, the siege lasted several weeks; during which time, both the Christians and Turks gave many signal instances of their intrepidity and resolution. Solyman, who had posted himself with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raise the siege; but was as often repulsed with great slaughter. However, the besieged continued to defend the place with undaunted courage and resolution, till the emperor Alexius, who assisted in person at the enterprize, having caused a great number of small vessels to be fitted out, cut off the communication which, by means of the lake Ascanius, the city maintained with the neighbouring country.

The garrison being thus deprived of the constant supplies they received, both of men and provisions, and at the same time privately solicited by the emperor, with splendid promises, to surrender the place, not to the western princes, but to him, they submitted at length, and, on the fifth of July, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, Butumites. Among the many captives taken on this occasion, were Solyman's wife, and two of his children, who were immediately sent to Constantinople. After the reduction of Nice, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they

*The army
commanded
by Peter
cut off.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3446.
A.D. 1097.
U.C. 1846.*

*Nice be-
sieged by
the Chris-
tians,*

*The Turks
defeated.*

now entertained great distrust, directed their march towards Syria, having first divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and subsistence. Bohemond, who marched the first, was suddenly attacked by Solymans, at the head of sixty thousand Turks, and would, in all likelihood, have been defeated, had not Hugh come seasonably to his relief with thirty thousand men; who, falling upon the enemy, cut forty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the surrender of Antioch in Pisidia, of Iconium in Cilicia, Heraclea, and several other places. The Christian princes, animated with this success, bound themselves by an oath not to return, till they had rescued the holy city of Jerusalem, from the Infidels. Accordingly, having passed mount Taurus, they reduced the cities of Maresia and Artasia; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles distant from Antioch, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-first of October, 1097.

*Antioch be-
sieged and
taken.*

As the place was strongly fortified, and garrisoned with seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, the siege continued to the third of June, when Pyrrhus, who had, in appearance, embraced the Mohammedan superstition to save his estate, and was entrusted with the defence of a tower, called the Two Sisters, betrayed the city to Bohemond: His men entering in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army, who, surprising the Turks before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, made a terrible slaughter. Cassianus the governor, with some others, found means to make his escape; but fell soon after into the hands of the Armenian Christians, by whom he was slain. While the Christians were engaged in the siege of Antioch, Corbenus, one of the sultan of Persia's generals, attacked Edessa with a powerful army; but Baldwin, to whom the place had submitted some months before, gave him such a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprise, and marched to the relief of Antioch. Being informed on his march, that the city was taken, he resolved nevertheless to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but was totally defeated, having lost, as we are told, a hundred thousand, partly killed and partly taken prisoners; whereas of the Christians only four thousand two hundred fell. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh of June, 1098; and next day the Turks, who still defended the castle of Antioch, despairing of relief, submitted, and were made prisoners. The Christians, thus become masters of Antioch, made, with one consent, Bohemond

*The Turks
defeated
with great
slaughter.*

mond prince of that metropolis, not thinking himself bound by the late treaty, since Alexius had, contrary to agreement, under various pretences, declined affording them the least assistance. However, they sent Hugh, brother to Philip king of France, and Baldwin earl of Hainault, to give the emperor an account of their success, and press him to join them with all their forces, pursuant to the treaty; but the earl of Hainault was never afterwards seen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been murdered by the emperor's orders. Hugh got safe to Constantinople; but, instead of returning to the princes with an account of his embassy, he departed for France; whence some writers speak much to his disadvantage, insinuating that he was bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprise. The emperor had indeed at this time a just excuse for not joining the western princes; for Tangripermes, a Turkish pirate, having seized on the cities of Smyrna and Ephesus, and reduced the islands of Rhodes and Chios, infested the coasts of the empire, committing the most dreadful ravages. The emperor sent a considerable fleet and army against him; which arriving at Smyrna, besieged that city by sea and land, and having reduced it, marched to Ephesus; which was likewise forced to submit, Tangripermes having been defeated, with great slaughter, in that neighbourhood.

The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the surrender of Philadelphia, Laodicea, and other maritime cities of importance. Alexius, elated with this success, laid claim to Antioch, and sent ambassadors to Bohemond, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. Bohemond was so incensed at this demand, that, instead of complying with it, he in his turn claimed, as prince of Antioch, the city of Laodicea, and dispatched a considerable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew Tancred, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the same time several other forts in Cilicia, belonging to the emperor. Provoked by these hostilities, Alexius, having caused a formidable fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, resolved to intercept the supplies which the western princes, especially the bishop of Pisa, were preparing for the support of the Christians in the East, till such time as they had restored to the empire the cities they had taken from the Turks. Of this fleet Tatcius was appointed admiral; who meeting that of the western princes near Rhodes, attacked them, and obtained a complete victory; but was himself overtaken, in his return

A.D. 1099.
U.C. 1841.

A war bet
ween A-
lexius and
Bohemond,
prince of
Antioch.

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to Constantinople, by a violent storm, which destroyed the greater part of his fleet.

Laodicea taken by Alexius.

After this expedition, the emperor ordered Cantacuzenus, one of his generals, to besiege Laodicea; which, notwithstanding the supplies Bohemond, with much difficulty, threw into it, was at length obliged to submit. The prince of Antioch, finding he had not sufficient strength at present to contend with the emperor, either by sea or land, left a strong garrison in Antioch, and passed undiscovered into Italy, with a design to levy fresh forces there, and to return early in the spring into the East. Alexius, acquainted with his design, ordered his admiral, Contostephanus, to cruise on the coasts of Italy, and prevent Bohemond's fleet from passing into the East; but Contostephanus, departing from his instructions, made a descent, and laid siege to Brundusium; which, however, he was obliged to raise, his men being repulsed with great slaughter by the inhabitants. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion, were six Scythians, whom Bohemond carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the assistance of such Infidels and Barbarians, Alexius endeavoured to stop the progress of the Christian princes in the East; a circumstance which inflamed both the pope and the people against him to such a degree, that multitudes crowded daily to Bohemond, desiring to be employed against a prince whom they considered as an avowed enemy to the Christian name.

Bohemond left Italy to Dyrachium.

Bohemond, having by these means soon raised a powerful army, passed over into Illyricum; and landing without opposition, in the neighbourhood of Dyrachium, encamped before that important place, after having caused his fleet to be burnt in the sight of the whole army, that seeing there were no means of making their escape, they might fight the more courageously, and place their safety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous garrison, and supplied with great plenty of provisions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out till Bohemond's army being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries, that haughty prince began to listen to the proposals that were made him for putting a period to the war. After several conferences between him and the emperor's ministers, a peace was concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus ended, Bohemond returned to Italy, according to Anna Comnena^{*}; but accord-

Peace concluded.

* Ann. Comn. lib. ii. cap. 6. & lib. xi. cap. 1, a. 3. Glyc. Annal. lib. iii. Zosier, in Alex.

The Conflicting History.

ing to others he proceeded to Antioch, where, we are told, he died six months after. Alexius, being disengaged from this war, marched in person against the Turks, who, renewing their incursions, had laid the country waste to the very walls of Nice; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, defeated them with great slaughter. However, the Turks returned the following year; but were, in several successive battles, vanquished and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, Alexius himself being prevented by the gout, and other distempers, that usually attend old age, from heading his army in person.

The Turks, dispirited by the great losses they had sustained, sent to sue for peace; which was readily granted by the emperor, who henceforth never appeared more in the field, but spent the remaining part of his life, in endeavouring to heal the divisions, which at that time rent the Greek church. Being seized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1114, the thirty-seventh of his reign ^p. There is a great disagreement among authors, touching the character of this prince, the Greek historians, especially his daughter Anna Commena, painting him as the best of princes; and those who have written the history of the holy war, representing him as the worst. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great address and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the best statesman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother, and the rest of his friends, who had been instrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped such wealth, as drained the treasury; so that to carry on the war with the Turks, he was forced to seize on the riches of the churches and monasteries; a circumstance which has induced some ecclesiastic writers to represent him in the blackest colours. He seems to have been a stranger to cruelty; for though many conspiracies were formed against him during the long course of his reign, yet we read of no other punishment inflicted even on the chief authors of them, besides banishment, or the confiscation of their estates. His behaviour to the western princes may in some degree be excused, from the jealousy he entertained of them, especially of Bohemond, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppose and weaken, than assist them in an undertaking, he apprehended, might at last end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy.

Alexius
concluded
peace with
the Turks.

Yr. of Pl.

3463.

A.D. 1114.
U. C. 1863.

His death
and char-
acter.

^p Ann. Commen. lib. xv. cap. 10, 11, 12.

The Conquest of Asia Minor.

~~Alexius~~
~~Cassinius.~~
During his sickness, he was earnestly solicited by the Greeks, and his daughter Anne, to exclude his own son John from the succession, and bequeath the empire to Bryennius, the husband of Anne; but the emperor, deaf to their solicitations, declared John his successor, who was thereupon saluted emperor by the people, as soon as the death of Alexius was known, and a few days after crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had scarce taken possession of the imperial throne, when some of his nearest relations, at the instigation of Anne, conspired against him, in order to depose him, and place Bryennius in his room; but the conspiracy being timely discovered, the conspirators were immediately seized, tried, and convicted. However, the humane emperor did not suffer them to be otherwise punished than by confiscating their estates, which he soon after restored, receiving into favour all those who, with his sister Anne, had given life to the conspiracy. He afterwards removed from court such as he had reason to suspect, appointing none to succeed them but persons of known probity and distinguished characters.

~~Mr. of Fl.~~
A.D. 1164.
U.C. 1864.

~~All wars
with the
Turks;~~

~~against
the Saracens,
the Saracens,
and the
Huns.~~

In the second year of his reign, the Turks, in breach of the treaty lately concluded with his father, invaded Phrygia; but the emperor, marching against them in person, overthrew them in several engagements; and having recovered the cities they had taken in Cilicia, and among the rest Laodicea, he invested Sozopolis, a strong town in Pamphylia, which he took by stratagem. The Turks, alarmed at the success that attended his arms, renewed the peace which they had concluded with his father Alexius. In consequence of this accommodation, the emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople, where he had not been long, when news were brought him, that the Scythians, having passed the Danube, and broken into Thrace, were ravaging the country with fire and sword. The emperor, at the head of his army, falling upon the Barbarians before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut incredible numbers in pieces, took many prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves beyond the Danube. He then turned his victorious arms, first against the Servii, whom he easily subdued, and afterwards against the Huns, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the Danube with great slaughter. The emperor, crossing that river, carried the war into their country; and having taken several of their strong places, and forced them to conclude a peace.

Nicot. lib. i. cap. 1.

upon

upon his own terms, returned the second time in triumph to Constantinople.

While the emperor was thus employed against the Barbarians, the Turks, without any regard to the late treaty, suddenly entered Galatia and Cilicia, and made themselves masters of several cities in those two provinces. The emperor, therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refresh themselves at Constantinople, led them afterwards into the East, where he soon conquered all Armenia, driving the Turks every-where before him. The castle of Baca, and the cities of Castamona, Anazarba, Serep, Capharda, Istria, and Sezer, made a vigorous resistance; but were at last obliged to submit. However, having laid siege to Berœa in Syria, he was forced by the numerous garrison to raise it, and drop that enterprize. On his return he was reconciled to his brother Isaac, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken some disgust, had fled to the Turks, and assisted them with his advice in all their undertakings against the Christians. Soon after John, Isaac's son, defected to the enemy, and renouncing the Christian religion, embraced the superstition of Mohammed. The emperor, having consumed three years in the East, and recovered from the Turks the several cities and fortresses which they had lately taken, returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Having settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to return once more into the East. Accordingly he began his march early in the spring of the year 1137, attended by his three sons, Alexius, Andronicus, and Manuel, publishing, that he had nothing else in view but to secure his conquests in Armenia, and confirm the cities, that had lately submitted to him, in their obedience; but his real design was to recover, if possible, the city of Antioch, possessed by the Latins, and reunite that stately metropolis to the empire. Soon after he had left Constantinople, his two eldest sons, Alexius and Andronicus, died in the prime of their years, to the inexpressible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to sink under the weight of so unexpected a calamity. However, he pursued his march, and entering Syria, acquainted the inhabitants of Antioch with his arrival, who sent some of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he approached, they refused to admit him within the gates, till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a short stay in the city. He had entertained hopes of corrupting the citizens, and

*He re-
covers Ar-
menia.*

Yr. of Fl.
3466.
A.D. 1137:
U.C. 1886.

*He forms a
design of
recovering
Antioch
from the
Latins.*

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by these means making himself master of the city ; but finding them inviolably attached to the Latins, he retired in a great rage, ordering his soldiers at their departure to plunder the suburbs.

*The army
was wounded
with a
poisoned
arrow.*

*Yr. of Fl.
348.
A.D. 1139.
U.C. 1888.*

He dies.

From Antioch he directed his march to Cilicia, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Though the wound was slight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in time, it caused such a swelling in his arm, that the physicians advised amputation ; but he peremptorily refusing to submit to it, the strength of the poison prevailed to such a degree, that he was in a short time brought to the point of death ; when, summoning the chief nobility to his chamber, he named in their presence his youngest son Manuel to succeed him, as better qualified in every respect for that eminent station than his other son Isaac. In consequence of this nomination Manuel was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died soon after, on the eighth of April, 1139, having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is remarkable that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign ; whence he was no less beloved by his subjects for his humanity and clemency, than feared by the enemies of the empire on account of his courage, experience in war, and the success that attended him in all his expeditions⁶.

*Manuel
Comnenus.*

*His war
with the
Turks.*

The emperor no sooner expired than Manuel dispatched Axuchus, who had been prime minister to his father, to Constantinople, with orders to secure Isaac, who was accordingly seized before he had time to assert his right to the empire, and confined to a monastery. Soon after the new emperor arrived ; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated Isaac, he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch. Having settled his domestic affairs, and released his brother Isaac, upon his promising to attempt no innovations during his absence, he went into Asia at the head of a powerful army, and having recovered several cities in Phrygia, lately taken by the Turks, he invested Iconium ; but not being able to make himself master of that important place, he returned to Constantinople, leaving sufficient garrisons in the frontier-towns to restrain the incursions of the Turks. During his residence in the imperial city he married Gestrude, sister-in-law to Conrade, the German emperor ; but slighting her, though endowed

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with every perfection desirable in a person of her sex and quality, he maintained a criminal conversation with his own niece Theodore, which greatly estranged the minds of his people from him.

But nothing has rendered his name more odious to posterity than his treacherous behaviour to the western princes; for having promised to supply the army of Conrade, who, in the year 1146, undertook an expedition into the Holy Land, with forage and provisions, instead of performing his promise he caused the countries through which they were to pass to be laid waste, and the gates of the towns to be shut; and we are told, that the Greeks, inspired by the emperor with an irreconcileable hatred to those adventurers, mixed the flour they sold them with quick-lime, which occasioned a dreadful mortality in the Christian army. Besides, the emperor privately acquainted Mamut, sultan of Iconium in Asia Minor, with the designs of Conrade and the other princes. In consequence of this intelligence the sultan, assembling all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raised in defence of their common interest, and sent to protect their territories, before the Christian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this precaution the designs of the western princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwise might have easily triumphed over all the East, was in a great measure destroyed^t.

Roger, king of Sicily, incensed at Manuel's treachery, took advantage of some disturbances raised by the inhabitants of Corcyra, who thought themselves oppressed by too heavy exactions, and subdued that island. From thence he sailed to Corinth, which he likewise took and plundered, with Thebes, and most of the principal cities of Boeotia. Thus insulted, Manuel, having assembled all the forces of the empire, and equipped a numerous fleet, declared war against Roger and the Sicilians; which he began with the siege of Corcyra, now Corfu. The besieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being exhausted with repeated attacks, they surrendered upon honourable terms. In this siege the emperor, who commanded his troops in person, lost an incredible number of men, and among the rest Stephen, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his success, he resolved to carry the war into Sicily itself; but was overtaken by a violent storm, in which several of his ships were lost, and himself driven, with most of the transports, to Aulon. Being informed, during his stay in this place, that the Servians had broken into the neighbouring

Yr. of Th.
3493.
A.D. 1146.
U.C. 3893.

His trea-
cherous be-
haviour to
the west-
ern
princes.

His wars
with Ro-
ger king of
Sicily.

^t Nicet. in Manuel. lib. i. cap. 3-4.

provinces,

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A peace concluded between the two princes.

provinces, he marched against them in person, committing the management of the Sicilian war to Michael Palæologus. Manuel gained great advantages over the Normans, though assisted by the Hungarians, whom he likewise overcame in several battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed some of their chief towns, and then returned to Constantinople loaded with booty. Palæologus marched into Calabria, where he frequently defeated Roger's forces, and continued ravaging the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes.

Manuel reduced to great straits by the Turks.

The emperor, disengaged from this war, took a progress into the East, being in every place received in a friendly manner, and entertained with shews and festivals, by the western princes, notwithstanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked by the Turks, who killed many of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a short stay at Constantinople, passed into Asia, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which struck the sultan with such terror, that he sued for peace, offering to conclude it upon such terms as the emperor himself should judge proper. But Manuel adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, impelled by false courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the sultan were rejected, and the ambassadors dismissed with this haughty answer, that the emperor would come and let him know his pleasure at Iconium, which was the metropolis of the Turkish empire in Asia Minor. The sultan, finding a war unavoidable, seized on the narrow passes of Zibriga, through which the emperor's army was to march, and attacking him as soon as he entered the streights, made a dreadful havock with showers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The Romans attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a strong detachment of Turks, posted at the entrance of the streights, they were forced to pursue their march. In the mean time, night coming on, the Turks, who were well acquainted with the country, possessed themselves of all the defiles; so that the Romans found themselves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every side, without being able either to retire or advance.

A peace concluded with the sultan.

In this condition, while they looked upon themselves as lost, the sultan, to the great surprise of the emperor and the whole army, sent to Manuel one of his chief officers, named Gabras, with proposals of peace; which he immediately signed, to the inexpressible joy of the whole army, who pursued their march unopposed to Chonae, where the

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emperor distributed what money he had with him among the soldiers; and then proceeded to Philadelphia, in which city he continued till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of Dorylaeum and Subleum, in Asia Minor, should be razed. This emperor, rescued from danger, refused to perform, alleging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The sultan, exasperated at this answer, sent a body of twenty-four thousand chosen men, under the conduct of Atapacus, to lay waste all Phrygia; which they ravaged with the utmost barbarity, sparing neither sex nor age: but the emperor's forces engaging them as they were crossing the Maeander on their return, cut them off to a man, and recovered the whole booty *. The Turks were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of Manuel's reign, who, having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and by endeavouuring to introduce and establish heterodox opinions, raised great disturbances and divisions in the church, some of the prelates being excited by interest to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, famous for his learned comments on Homer. But the death of the emperor terminated these disputes. He was taken ill in March, 1177, and died in the following September, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, hoping to atone for the debaucheries to which he had abandoned himself in times of peace **.

He was succeeded by his son Alexius Comnenus; but he being only twelve years old, his mother assuming the administration, and governing with absolute authority, suffered the young prince to indulge himself in his pleasures and diversions, in order to disqualify him for applying to affairs of state. The ministers, whom the empress employed, made it their chief study to enrich themselves at the expence of the public, the empress herself having nothing else in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus entirely neglected, while every one studied his private interest, the Turks, who neglected no opportunity of enlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, reduced Sozopolis, and several other important places in Phrygia. This progress of the Infidels raised in the people a general dislike to the present administration; which being observed by An-

The Turks
invaded
empire in
new, the
twenty-
four thou-
sand of
them are
cut off.

Yr. of Fl.
3526.
A.D. 1177.
U.C. 1926.

Manuel
dies.

Alexius
Comnenus

* Nicet. lib. vi. cap. i. m.

¶ Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 6, 7.

dronicus,

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*and march
er-gone
Coptian
people*

diverces, who was cousin-german to the late emperor, and had long aspired to the empire, he thought this the most proper time to attempt the obtaining of it at he so ardently wished for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his insinuating and popular behaviour, he left Oeneum, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and moving with his friends and dependents towards Constantinople, pretended that he had nothing else in view but to reform the abuses of the state, to assert the imperial dignity, to redress the grievances of the people, and rescue the young prince out of the hands of those who, in a most shameful manner, abused his authority, to the oppression of the people they were bound to protect. He was received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and such multitudes crowded to him from all parts, that none dared to oppose him, till he entered Bithynia, where the governors of Nice and Nicomedia shut their gates against him, as a public enemy. However, he pursued his march to a castle called Charace, where he was opposed by a body of the imperial troops, commanded by Andronicus Angelus, whom he put to flight; and advancing with long marches towards Constantinople, encamped at a small distance from Chalcedon, in sight of the imperial city. The empress had committed the whole management of affairs to Alexius, then president of the council, with whom she was thought to be more familiar than was consistent with her honour.

*The army
and fleet
goats to
him.*

As Alexius hoped by her means to be advanced to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the designs of Andronicus; but being universally detested by the people, for his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raised deserted to Andronicus, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of Contostephanus, followed their example. The people, assembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared Andronicus guardian of the young prince, set at liberty his two sons, John and Manuel, whom Alexius had thrown into prison, and seizing on Alexius himself, carried him in mock triumph to the sea-side, attended with the scoffs and curses of the enraged multitude, and thence conveyed him in a small boat to Andronicus, who, after having exposed him to the insults of the whole army, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Andronicus, passing the straits, waited on the emperor, who was then with the empress his mother, at a royal seat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his presence, fell on the ground, from a pretended respect to his prince, repeating several texts of scripture,

adapted

adapted to the present purpose. He saluted the empress with a coldness which sufficiently betrayed the aversion he bore her. Having remained some days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, and was with one voice declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young Alexius. But, notwithstanding the tyrannical conduct of Alexius the president, the citizens of Constantinople had soon occasion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty which the protector did not practise upon the unhappy people, without distinction of sex or condition. Some were deprived of their sight, others banished, and many inhumanly murdered, influenced by some private grudge, or because they seemed attached to the young prince. Among the rest Mary, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very instrumental in the late revolution, and her husband Manuel, Andronicus's own son, were poisoned by the tyrant's orders. He caused the empress to be accused of treason, asserting she had by letters invited Bela king of the Hungarians, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this groundless charge she was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppose the tyrant's pleasure, and shortly after strangled by Pterigionites the eunuch. Soon after her death the tyrant, pretending a great tenderness and unshaken fidelity for the young prince, caused him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the same time to enlarge, in an eloquent speech, on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he said, a person of wisdom and experience to avert them.

He had no sooner done speaking than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on beforehand, "Long live Alexius and Andronicus, Roman emperors!" the whole multitude saluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the consent and approbation of Alexius, on the imperial throne. He still pretended great aversion to this dignity; and, upon receiving the holy eucharist at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he solemnly swore by that venerable mystery, that he took upon him the sovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor, and support his authority. Notwithstanding this oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he resolved a few days after to dispatch his colleague, and take the whole government into his own hands. Pursuant to this wicked resolution, Stephanous Hagiocristophorites, with some others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, strangled him with a bow-string. Such was

Made col-
league to
Alexius,

Yr. of Fl.
3529.
A.D. 1180.
U.C. 1929.

whom he
causes to be
murdered.

The Confounding political History.

was the miserable end of Alexius II. in the third year of his reign, and lasteth of his life*.

Andronicus, now sole master of the empire, made it his chief study to establish the authority he had usurped, raging without distinction against persons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the least affected to Manuel's family, or capable

*Hic cruel
and tyran-
nical re-
ign.*

*¶ of fl.
A.D. 1182.
U.C. 3931.*

*Will-
king of
city, in-
vades his
dominions.*

of revenging his death. No day passed without some bloody execution; insomuch that in a short time the flower of the nobility was entirely cut off, the merciless tyrant complaining at the same time of the severity of the law, which did not allow him to shew pity to so many deserving men. Some however found means to make their escape, and among the rest Isaac Comnenus, Manuel's kinsman; who, taking refuge in Cyprus, made himself master of that island, and is said to have exceeded even Andronicus himself in all manner of barbarities. Alexius Comnenus, brother to the late emperor Manuel, fled to Sicily; and having persuaded William, king of that island, to make war upon Andronicus, he attended him to Dyrrachium, which city the king soon reduced. Marching from thence into Macedon, he laid waste that province without opposition, and invested Thessalonica, where his fleet had been ordered to attend him. The city was taken by storm, after a few days siege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmost cruelty plundered by the Sicilians, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all the inhabitants to the sword, not sparing even those who had taken refuge in the churches. Andronicus, having assembled his troops, ordered them to march, under the conduct of generals in whom he could confide, against the enemy: but they were defeated and put to flight at the first attack; a circumstance which inspired the Sicilians with such courage, that they considered themselves as already masters of the imperial city. In the mean time the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents increased at home, in proportion to the success of the enemy abroad, betrayed more cruelty than ever, not sparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny against others.

Among those who were destined to slaughter, was Isaac Angelus, a person of great distinction, descended from one of the most ancient families in Constantinople. Hagiokrisiophorites, Andronicus's prime minister, was ordered to seize him; but Isaac, having killed the assassin with his own hand, escaped to a church, whither he was followed by his

*Isaac An-
gelus takes
refuge in a
church.*

* Nicet. in Alex. Comnen. cap. 3—56.

uncle John ~~Ducas~~, his son Isaac, and several other persons of the first quality. As Isaac was generally beloved, on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to see him in his asylum. Andronicus being then absent from the city, Isaac embraced that opportunity to excite the populace against him; an attempt in which he succeeded so effectually, that, on a day appointed, they crowded to the church of St. Sophia, and, with one voice, saluted Isaac emperor, declaring at the same time Andronicus a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and despairing of being able to appease the enraged multitude, fled to Melidium, a royal palace on the east side of the Propontis, and from thence attempted to escape into Scythia; but being several times driven back by contrary winds, and pursued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was apprehended, and presented in chains to Isaac; who, having caused his right-hand to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him to the enraged populace, from whom he suffered indignities answerable to the injuries with which he had provoked them. Having led him in triumph through the most frequented streets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidst the reproaches and insults of the incensed multitude, they hung him up naked by the feet between two pillars, cut off his private parts, and tormented him for three days together. He bore with invincible courage all the torments the incensed and relentless mob could inflict upon him, sometimes repeating, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" and sometimes addressing the multitude with these words, "Why do you break a bruised reed?" At length one, touched with compassion at the sight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty itself, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the same time to his life and torments, after he had lived seventy-three years, and reigned twenty. He was the last emperor of the Comnenian family.

Is pris
claimed
emperor.

Andronik
taken, and
cruelly tor
mented by
the popu
lace.

Yr. of Fl
3532.
A.D. 1185
U.C. 1932

Is murde
ed.

Isaac, thus raised to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, the affections of his subjects, by his *lenity* and *moderation*, not only recalling and restoring to their estates those who had been banished by Andronicus, but relieving several decayed families out of his private estate. When he thought himself sufficiently established on the throne, he detached the flower of the army, under the conduct of Branas, an officer of great experience, against the Sicilians; who, being surprised as they were roving about the

⁷ Nicet. in Andronic. lib. i. cap. 5-15.

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*He defeats
the Sicili-
ans.*

country in quest of plunder, were defeated, and cut off almost to a man, either by the emperor's troops or the natives, whom they had provoked by their barbarities. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred sail, on their return home, being dispersed by a violent storm, most of their ships were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of prisoners sent to Constantinople, where most of them perished with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not suffering them to be relieved even with bread and water. Having thus terminated the Sicilian war, he resolved to drive, if possible, Isaac Comnenus out of Cyprus, where he oppressed the inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner.

For this purpose he equipped a numerous fleet, which he sent under the command of John Contostephanus, and Alexius Comnenus, to make a descent upon that island; and they landed accordingly without the least opposition: but while the forces were ashore, Margarites, a famous pirate, who had joined Isaac Comnenus, engaging the fleet, seized or burnt all the ships, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed, and could not retreat, made a terrible slaughter. This misfortune encouraged the Moesians, whom the emperor oppressed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the Scythians; who, having raised a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. The emperor dispatched his uncle John Ducas against them, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would in all likelihood have finished the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. John, surnamed Cantacuzenus, being appointed to succeed him, was, through his rashness and indiscretion, often worsted by the enemy. At length Branias Alexius, the greatest commander of his age,

*Yr. of Fl. 1535.
A.D. 1186.
U.C. 1935.*

*Branias re-
volts.
and lays
siege to
Constanti-
nople.*

was entrusted with the whole management of the war. Branias, finding himself at the head of a powerful and well disciplined army, after having gained some advantages over the enemy, suddenly returned to Adrianople, the place of his nativity; and being proclaimed emperor, led his troops without loss of time to the imperial city, hoping to surprise Isaac, who had scarce received intelligence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themselves in a posture of defence, and harassing his troops with frequent sallies, he resolved to encamp at some distance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, reposing all his confidence in the Virgin Mary (whose image he placed on the walls), and in the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was roused by Conrade, son to the marquis of Montferrat, who, happening to be then at

Constan-

Constantinople, encouraged him to assemble his troops, and march out against the enemy; which advice he followed accordingly, being attended by Contade, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. An engagement ensuing, the dispute was maintained for a considerable time on both sides with great obstinacy; but at length the emperor's forces, though a handful in comparison of the enemy's, prevailing, Branás himself was killed on the spot, and most of his chief officers either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Conrade, by whose hand Branás fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge².

He is defeated and killed.

The rebellion being thus happily suppressed, the jealous emperor resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the celebrated emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, who was marching at the head of a powerful army, to the assistance of the princes of the crusade. He had promised to grant Frederic a free passage through his dominions, and supply his army with all manner of provisions; but being in the mean time gained over by Saladin, the Turkish sultan, who promised to restore Palestine to him, instead of assisting the German army, pursuant to his engagement, he no sooner heard of their arrival on the borders than he dispatched his cousin Manuel, with a formidable army, to obstruct their passage, and intercept their provisions, having first, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into prison the bishop of Munster, the earl of Nassau, and count Walram, Frederic's ambassadors. The Germans, justly provoked at the emperor's treachery, passed, notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the Greeks, into Thrace, and seized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified towns, pursuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached Philippopolis, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and Frederic, taking possession of it, halted a few days to refresh his troops.

The emperor's treacherous conduct towards Frederic the German emperor.

In the mean time the emperor, incensed against Manuel, whom he accused of cowardice, sent him peremptory orders to engage the Germans; pursuant to which, the Greek general advanced within six miles of Philippopolis. But his whole army being shamefully vanquished by a party of Germans, whom Frederic had ordered to scour the country, and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of Nicopolis and Adrianople, with all the places between the Aegean and Euxine Seas, opened their gates to the victorious army, *places.*

Frederic defeats the emperor's forces.
Takes several

² Nicet. in Iose. Ang. lib. 2 cap. 3. &c. &c. lib. cap. 1, 2.

The Constantinopolitan History.

without attempting to make the least opposition. In consequence of this progress, the emperor, having released Frederic's ambassadors, sued for peace, offering to supply the Germans with provisions, and the necessary ships to transport them into Asia, provided they delivered hostages to him for his security, and crossed the straits without delay. Frederic, now master of the whole country to the very gates of Constantinople, thought proper to chastise the pride of the presumptuous but cowardly Greeks, and therefore returned the following answer to the emperor's deputies; that he had conquered Thrace, and therefore would dispose of it at his pleasure; that he was determined to winter there, since the emperor had, by his perfidiousness, retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to pass the straits; that he was resolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a sufficient number of ships ready against Easter to transport his troops; and, since he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to send instantly twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred persons of inferior quality, as hostages for the performance of what he required. To these shameful conditions the emperor was forced to submit, sending the hostages with rich presents to Frederic, who, having wintered at Adrianople, moved early in the spring to Callipolis, where he found a sufficient number of vessels to transport his army into Asia^a.

Obliges the emperor to submit to conqueror's terms.

An impostor makes him full master of several cities.

In the year 1191, the eighth of Isaac's reign, an impostor, pretending to be the son of the emperor Manuel, laid claim to the empire: being encouraged by the sultan of Iconium, he raised in a short time an army of eight thousand men, seduced all the cities on the Maeander, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from Alexius, the emperor's brother, who was sent against him, and would in all likelihood have driven the emperor from the throne, had not a priest put an end to his conquests, by stabbing him with his own sword while he lay asleep, after having drank to excess^b. The Scythians, encouraged by these domestic commotions, renewed their incursions, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces. Against them the emperor marched in person; but, having passed the summer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut off the greatest part of his army, the emperor himself having with great difficulty made his escape. After this victory, the Barbarians roved about the country without control, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into capti-

^a Hist. in Henr. Angl. Vol. I. p. 113. &c. > Brot. Ed. iii. cap. i.

vity. The emperor dispatched against them first Alexius Guido, and afterwards Batatzes Basilius; but both these generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the spot, the emperor, having raised fresh forces, resolved to march against them once more in person. Accordingly he left Constantinople early in the spring, and arriving at Cypsella on the frontiers of the empire, halted, till the troops that were marching from all parts joined him.

In the mean time his brother Alexius Angelus, who had long aspired to the empire, observing the general discontent that reigned among the soldiery, resolved to embrace the present opportunity of attaining what he had so long wished for. Accordingly, having imparted his design to some of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to espouse his interest, and combine against Isaac, while the emperor was one day hunting, the conspirators, seizing Alexius, as had been previously concerted, carried him to the imperial pavilion, where he was saluted emperor by the whole army. Isaac, judging it impossible to reclaim the revolted army, fled with great precipitation to Macra, where he was overtaken by those whom his brother had sent after him, and by his orders deprived of sight, and thrown into prison, after he had reigned nine years and eight months.

Yr. of H.
354^{r.}
A.D. 1193.
U.C. 1941.

Alexius
Angelus
reigns.

Alexius Angelus, thus raised to the throne, abandoned himself to the same vices for which he pretended to have removed his brother, spending his time in riot and luxury, while the Scythians on one hand, and the Turks on the other, made themselves masters of several important places, and desolated whole provinces. As he was an enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife Euphrosyne, and his favourites, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, selling the first employments of the state to the highest bidder, without regard to their birth or abilities, and using all other means, however unjust and dishonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202, Alexius, reflecting on the great kindness his brother had shewn him during his reign, and thinking himself now firmly established on the throne, ordered the unhappy Isaac to be set at liberty, and called his son Alexius, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But Isaac, stimulated by the indignity that had been offered him, and the injustice done both to himself and his son, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former power, and asserting his right to the imperial crown. With this view he main-

Yr. of H.
354^{r.}
A.D. 1193.
U.C. 1941.

Alexius
Angelus.
His bad
government.

Isaac, the
late emp.
is set free.

The *Sixth* Impolitic History;

*Mrs. Fox
Admits
recurs to
the western
princes.*

inisted a private correspondence with the Latins, by their means, with his daughter Irene, wife to Philip emperor of Germany, earnestly pressing her to persuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. Irene giving them hopes of a speedy and powerful assistance, young Alexius escaped from Constantinople; and, embarking in a ship belonging to a merchant of Pisa, riding then at the mouth of the Hellespont, landed safe in Sicily. He spent some days in private conferences with his sister, who was then in that island, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome, to solicit the assistance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received, and warmly recommended to Philip. That prince received young Alexius with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and was sensibly touched with the misfortunes of Irene's family; but being then engaged in a dangerous war with Otho, who disputed the empire with him, he could not espouse the young prince's cause. However, by means of his ambassadors, he engaged the French and Venetians, who had then a powerful army in Dalmatia, ready to march against the Turks, to attempt the restoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole strength against the usurper.

*Treaty
concluded
between
them, and
Alexius.*

*Dyrrachium sub-
mits to
Murad.*

*Proprietary
rights to
Constanti-
nople for
Murad.*

The treaty, after some warm disputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the French and Venetians were to establish Alexius on the imperial throne, and Alexius, upon his restoration, engaged to pay two hundred thousand marks in silver towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thousand men one year, to be employed in the conquest of Egypt, and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed for the defence of such places as they should conquer in the Holy Land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarked for Corfu, the place of the general rendezvous. As they appeared before Dyrrachium, the inhabitants were no sooner informed that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they presented him with the keys of the place, and swore allegiance. Encouraged by this happy presage, they pursued their course to the island of Corfu, and from thence, after a short stay, to the port of St. Stephen on the Propontis, where they refreshed themselves, and then sailed to Chalcedon, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having collected all his forces, encamped on the Bosphorus, opposite the confederates, who nevertheless passed the straits, the emperor having but twenty gallies to oppose them, and landed in sight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great disorder. Next day the French surprised

surprised the castle of Galata, and the Venetians, being favoured by an easterly wind, sailed up to the chain that secured the mouth of the harbour; and, having cut it with sheers of steel, that opened and shut by means of an engine, they took or sunk all the Greek vessels in the haven. After this exploit, the Venetians having battered the walls for ten days successively by sea, and the French by land, a general assault was given on the seventeenth of July. The Greeks made a more vigorous opposition than was expected; and, being assisted both by the advantage of the place, and their numbers, often repulsed the assailants. But at length the celebrated Henry Dandalo, doge of Venice, though then above eighty years old, putting himself at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more by his example than his words, rushed in, defying all opposition; and, having seized on one of the towers, planted on the top the great standard of St. Mark.

The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops had got into the town, sallied out with a design to charge them in the rear, and oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulsed with great slaughter, and the brave Dandalo having by this time subdued twenty-five towers on the side of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a small vessel kept for that purpose, and escaped with his treasures and the imperial ornaments, to Zagora, a city of Thrace, at the foot of Mount Hæmus. It was no sooner known that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crowding to the prison where Isaac had been detained since the flight of his son Alexius, saluted him again with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years, and invited the young prince to share the empire with his father. The confederates were transported with joy at the news of so sudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the Greeks, they refused to acknowlege Isaac, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his son; which step he had no sooner taken than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was associated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and solemnity on the first of August, 1203⁴. As the usurper still continued in Thrace, supported by a strong party, and Theodorus Lascaris, his son-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other side of the

The usurper makes his escape

Isaac reigned.

Bespris, the two emperors earnestly intreated the confederates to defer their expedition to the Holy Land, till they had completed the work which they had so happily begun. To this proposal they readily agreed; and marching against the tyrant, who had seized on Adrianople, obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring Barbarians. Theodorus Lascaris no sooner heard that the confederates were preparing to cross the straits, in order to attack him, than he disbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the Turks. The confederates, having established the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to Constantinople, where they were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and from thence passed into Asia in the spring.

A dreadful fire at Constantinople. In the course of the same year a dreadful conflagration happened at Constantinople, occasioned by some Latin soldiers, who, having plundered a mosque which the late emperor had suffered the Mohammedans to erect in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the Turks, who were much superior in number, set fire to some wooden houses, the better to favour their escape. The flames spreading from street to street, reduced in a short time great part of the city to ashes, with the capacious storehouses, that had been built at a vast expence, *on* the quay. The emperor Isaac died soon after the departure of the Latins, leaving his son Alexius sole master of the empire. The young prince, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the French and Venetians, was forced to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, which, with the great esteem and friendship he shewed to his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people, who were sworn enemies to the Latins. The emperor Isaac died soon after the departure of the Latins, leaving his son Alexius sole master of the empire. The young prince, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the French and Venetians, was forced to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, which, with the great esteem and friendship he shewed to his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people, who were sworn enemies to the Latins. This encouraged John Ducas, surnamed Murtzuplius; from his thick eye-brows, to attempt the sovereignty. As he was a person of great address and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himself with the multitude, by exclaiming against the Latins, as the only cause of the present miseries, but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to offend the Latins, and even to treat them as enemies. Hostilities being returned by the western princes, Murtzuplius dispatched one of his friends, in the emperor's name, to the marquis of Montferrat, with proposals for an accommodation, offering to surrender the palace and fortress of Blacherne, within the walls of Constantinople, provided he would deliver him

Murtzuplius betrays the young prince;

from the enraged populace, who, he said, had revolted, and

proclaimed another emperor. The marquis, giving credit to the ambassador, prepared to march to Constantinople; but in the mean time the treacherous Murtzulphus, having raised the people, by proclaiming that Alexius had sold the city to the Latins, who were in full march to take possession of it, entered, in the midst of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and strangled him with his own hands. After this assassination he presented himself to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to secure their liberties, and earnestly intreated them to choose an emperor who had courage to defend them against the Latins, always ready to oppress and enslave them. He had no sooner concluded his speech than those who were privy to his wicked design saluted him with the title of emperor, and their example was followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne.

Yr. of PL
3553.
A.D. 1204.
U.C. 1953.

and mur-
ders him.

The princes of the crusade no sooner heard of the death of Alexius, and the promotion of the treacherous assassin, than they unanimously agreed to turn their arms against the usurper, to revenge the murder of a prince whom they had supported; and since they had been so often betrayed and retarded in their several expeditions to the Holy Land by the Greek emperors, to make themselves masters of Constantinople, and seize on the empire for themselves. Pursuant to this resolution, having mustered all their forces in Asia, they crossed the straits, and closely besieged the Imperial city both by sea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the Latins, after having battered the walls for several days together with an incredible number of engines, gave a general assault on the eighth of April, which continued from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having lost some of their engines, and a great number of men. It was nevertheless resolved the same night, in a council of war, that the attack should be renewed; and it recommenced accordingly on Monday the twelfth of April, when, after a warm conflict of several hours, the French planted their standard on one of the towers; a circumstance which the Venetians observing, they quickly reduced four other towers, where they likewise displayed their ensigns. In the mean time three of the gates being destroyed by the battering-rams, and those who had scaled the walls having killed the guards, and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army drew up, in order of battle, within the walls. But the Greeks flying in the greatest confusion, several parties were detached to scour the streets, who put all they met to the sword.

*The Latins
resolve to
revenge his
death.*

*They be-
siege Con-
stantinople;*

Night

which is taken and plundered.

Night interrupted the dreadful slaughter, when the Greeks, sounding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to fortify themselves, not doubting but they should be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly surprised when, instead of an armed enemy, they saw by break of day processions of suppliants advancing from every quarter of the city, with crosses, banners, images of saints, and relics, to implore mercy. The princes, touched with compassion, promised them their lives, but at the same time ordering them to retire to their houses, they gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiery for that day; strictly enjoining them to abstain from slaughter, to preserve the honour of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a just distribution might be made according to the rank and merit of every individual. The Greeks had, without doubt, removed and concealed their most valuable effects during the night; the most eminent persons had made their escape, and carried with them immense treasures; most of the soldiers had, in all likelihood, reserved several things of great value for themselves, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the statues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. Murtzukius made his escape in the night, embarking in a small vessel with Euphrosyne, the wife of the late usurper Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204 of the Christian era.



C H A P. LXXI.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Expulsion of the Greeks to the Taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the total Destruction of the Roman Empire.

*Baldwin,
earl of
Flanders,
chosen em-
peror of
Constanti-
nople.*

TH E Latins, masters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of an emperor; when Baldwin, earl of Flanders, a prince in every respect equal to that high dignity, was, after some deliberation, chosen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. Sophia. To him was allotted the city of Constantinople and the country of Thrace, with a limited sovereignty over

The Constantinopolitan History.

over the other provinces, which already were, or should afterwards be taken from the Greeks. To Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, they assigned Thessaly, which was erected into a kingdom. The Venetians had the islands of the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities on the Hellespont, for their share. But while the Latins were thus dividing their new acquisitions, Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having, at the taking of Constantinople, made his escape into Bithynia, was joyfully received by the inhabitants; and possessing himself not only of that country, but of Phrygia, Mysia, Ionia, and Lydia, from the Meander to the Euxine Sea, assumed the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat in the famous city of Nice. At the same time David and Alexius Comneni, grandchildren to the late tyrant Andronicus, seizing on the more eastern countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, erected another empire at Trapezus or Trapezond, where their posterity reigned till that country, as well as Constantinople, fell into the hands of Mohammed the Great. Thus the Greek empire was no longer one, but divided into several states. Baldwin reigning at Constantinople, the marquis of Montferrat in Thessaly, Theodorus Lascaris at Nice, the Comneni at Trapezond, and the Venetians in the islands; not to mention several other toparchies or principalities founded on the ruins of the Constantinopolitan empire.

Theodorus
Lascaris
erects a
new empire
at Nice;

The Com-
neni at
Trapezond.

To resume the thread of our history: Baldwin, the new emperor of Constantinople, having, with the assistance of the other princes, reduced all Thrace except Adrianople, whither great numbers of Greeks had fled for shelter against the prevailing power of the Latins, resolved to besiege that important place, and accordingly invested it with all his forces. The Greeks defended themselves with great resolution, and at the same time, by means of some of their nation, who had withdrawn into Bulgaria, prevailed upon John, king of that country, to espouse their cause, who, marching at the head of a powerful army, consisting partly of Bulgarians, partly of Scythians, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor into an ambuscade, cut off most of his men, and took Baldwin himself prisoner. After this victory the Bulgarians over-ran all Thrace, plundering the cities, desolating the country, and committing inexpressible cruelties. The unhappy emperor, Baldwin, was sent in chains to Ernec or Ternova, the capital of Bulgaria, where, after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a desert, and left exposed to the wild beasts and birds of prey. In that miserable condition he lived three days, and then expired. Even the Greek historians

Baldwin's
army de-
feated by
the Bulga-
rians.

Yr. of Fl.
3355.
A.D. 1196.
U.C. 1935.

Baldwin
taken and
put to
death.

torians themselves allow him to have been a prince endowed with every accomplishment.

In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, the late usurper, hearing that Theodorus Lascaris, his son-in-law, reigned in Asia, left Greece, where he then lay concealed. Passing over into Asia, he went privately to the court of Jathatines, sultan of Iconium, his ancient friend and ally; and, laying before him the miserable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his assistance for the recovery of his empire, especially of that part of Asia Minor which was, with the utmost injustice, withheld from him by Theodorus Lascaris. Jathatines was the younger son of sultan Aladin, who, at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children Aratines and Jathatines; but they quarrelling about the sovereignty, the latter had been expelled by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to Constantinople, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to his rank by Alexius, then emperor. Jathatines espousing, out of gratitude, the cause of his unfortunate friend, sent ambassadors to Alexius, demanding him to deliver up the country he unjustly possessed, to the lawful owner Alexius, his father-in-law. Before the return of the ambassadors, the sultan, attended by Alexius, advanced at the head of twenty thousand men to Antioch on the Maeander, and besieged that place; a circumstance which Lascaris no sooner understood than he marched with two thousand men, the most he was able in that exigence to raise, to the relief of the city, being convinced, that if he suffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it stood on that river, and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The sultan at first could scarce give credit to those who brought him intelligence of the approach of Lascaris with so small a force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow. He had scarce time to take this precaution, when eight hundred Italians, of Lascaris's army, charging the Turks with incredible resolution, broke through the sultan's army, disordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmost confusion. As the Greeks had not courage to follow them, they were separated from the rest of the troops, and on their return surrounded by the Turkish cavalry, and entirely cut off.

The Greeks, intimidated at so great a loss, were upon the point of giving up the contest, when the sultan, now

Alexius
Angelus
brought up the
Turks a-
gainst The-
odorus Laf-
arris.

as he imagined, sure of victory, singling out the Greek emperor, and trusting to his own strength, engaged him in person, and at the first blow struck him off his horse: but Lascaris, quickly recovering himself, unhorsed and slew the sultan; cut off his head; and, fixing it upon the point of a spear, in sight of the enemy's army, infused such terror into them, that they immediately abandoned the field in a precipitate and disorderly manner, leaving the Greeks, who before were ready to fly, masters of their camp and baggage. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to Nice, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after*. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the Turks upon the Greek emperor's own terms, who being now at leisure to secure his dominions against Henry, brother to the late emperor Baldwin, and his successor in the Constantinopolitan empire, a bloody war was continued for several years between these two princes, with various success; but the Greeks being divided among themselves, and several princes of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, Lascaris was at length obliged to acknowlege the authority of Henry, and conclude a peace.

*They are
defeated;
and the
sultan slain.*

This war being terminated, Henry turned his arms first against the Bulgarians, whom he drove out of Thrace; and afterwards against Michael Angelus, a Greek prince of the imperial family, who having seized on Aetolia and Epirus, during the confusion that ensued upon the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, caused himself to be acknowledged despot or lord of that country. The emperor declared war against him, and his brother Theodorus, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he possessed. Henry, after having reigned ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and success, died at Thessalonica, in the fortieth year of his age. He was succeeded by Peter, count of Auxerre, who had married his sister, and signalized himself upon several occasions,

*War be-
tween the
Latin and
Greek em-
perors.*

*Henry, the
Latin em-
peror, suc-
ceeded by
Peter.*

This prince, arriving at Rome on his way from France to Constantinople, was solemnly crowned by pope Honorius III. on the ninth of April, 1217. From Rome he proceeded to Venice, where he entered into an alliance with that republic against Theodorus, who had succeeded his brother Michael in the principality of Aetolia and Epirus. Leaving Venice, he caſeſed that prince's dominions, and besieged Dyrrachium, which Theodorus had lately

*Yr. of H.
3566.
A.D. 1217.
U.C. 1956.*

*Crowned
at Rome.*

them; but, not being able to reduce it, he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and soon after to come to an agreement with Theodorus, who promised him a free passage through his dominions. Nevertheless, he fell upon him by surprize, cut most of his forces in pieces, and having taken the emperor himself prisoner, put him to death^b. Upon his decease, the Latins named his eldest son Philip, count of Namur, to succeed him; but, he declining that honour, Robert, the deceased emperor's second son, was prevailed upon to assume the purple. In the third year of his reign Theodorus Lascaris died, after having governed, for the space of eighteen years, that part of the empire which the Greeks still retained in Asia, and defended it with no less courage than success against the Turks on one side, and the Latins on the other. He left one son and three daughters; but the son being an infant, he bequeathed the empire to John Ducas, surnamed Vatates, who had married his eldest daughter Irene, and was by the dying emperor not undeservedly judged more capable than his own brothers, Alexius and Isaac, of defending, and even enlarging, the empire, which he had founded. John Ducas was crowned in the year 1222, by Manuel, patriarch of the Greeks, at Nice. Alexius and Angelus, the emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged to them, withdrew to Constantinople, to implore the protection of the Latins against one whom they looked upon as no other than an usurper.

Robert, the Latin emperor, quickly espoused their cause; and, having raised a considerable army, committed it to their conduct. But John, having assembled in the mean time all his forces, intercepted the two brothers at a place called Poemaneum; and, having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the Latin army being cut off, and the two commanders taken prisoners. The Greek emperor, encouraged by this success, built with incredible expedition a great number of gallies in the several ports of Asia; and falling suddenly upon the islands in the Archipelago, reduced most of them, every where driving the Latins before him. The fame of his exploits reaching Azen or Azen, king of Bulgaria, that prince, courting his friendship, proposed a match between his daughter Helena, and Theodore, the emperor's son, which was joyfully embraced by Ducas, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with so powerful a prince. At the same time the sultan of Iconium, apprehending an irruption

His troops
defeated by
John-Du-
cas, the
Greek em-
peror.

of the Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Persia, sent ambassadors to Nice, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; a proposal to which Ducas readily agreed, and then employing his whole strength against the Latins, subdued all the places held by them on the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont. While the Latins were thus distressed on the other side of the straits by John Ducas, Theodorus, prince or despot of Epirus, invading Thessaly and Thrace, reduced those countries; and, assuming the title of emperor, was crowned with great solemnity by Demetrius, patriarch of Bulgaria. He had lately concluded a peace with John, the son and successor of Azen in the kingdom of Bulgaria; but elated with his success against the Latins, and desirous of enlarging his dominions with new conquests, in defiance of the late treaty he invaded Bulgaria. But John, whom he considered as a match for so renowned a conqueror, having raised a powerful army, engaged him; and having, after a long and bloody dispute, put his forces to flight, took the despot himself prisoner, and caused his eyes to be pulled out!

Not long after this transaction, about the year 1228, Robert, emperor of the Latins, died, in the ninth year of his reign, in Achaia, as he was returning from Rome, which city he had visited, in order to be crowned in a more solemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of Baldwin of Neville, though she had some time before been betrothed to a Burgundian lord, who, provoked at her forsaking him to marry the emperor, seized on her and her mother, during the prince's absence; and, having caused the ambitious mother to be thrown into the sea, ordered the nose, ears, and lips, of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The sense of this barbarous outrage sunk so deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occasioned his death. He was succeeded by Baldwin II. his brother, or, as some writers assert, his son, who being but eight years old, John of Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, and one of the greatest captains of his time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. John governed with absolute and uncontroled power, and was respected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his administration, John Azen, king of Bulgaria, and John Ducas the Greek emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the Latins, and laid close siege to Constantinople: but the regent, behaving with courage and resolution equal to his former re-

who recovers several places from the Latins.

Yr. of Fl.
A.D. 1228.
U.C. 1977.

Robert dies.

Baldwin II.
John, earl of Brienne, regent of the empire.

*The defeat
of the allied
forces of
Azen and
Vataces.*

*Tr. of Fl.
1236.
A.D. 1236.
U.C. 1235.*

*Constan-
tinople se-
iged.*

*The siege
raised.
John of
Brienne
dies.*

*The despot
of Epirus
reigned.*

putation, called out with no more than two hundred horse, and a handful of foot, routed the enemy's army, amounting to a hundred thousand men; and, having obliged them to raise the siege, and pursued them with great slaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty.

In the following year 1236, the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared again before the imperial city; but were attended with no better success, being a second time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily fresh supplies, and the Latin army being greatly weakened and diminished, partly by sickness, and partly by frequent battles and skirmishes, the regent was at length obliged to shut himself up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were necessary to defend the walls. The enemy, apprised of the state of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the siege; whereupon John, knowing he could not rely upon the Greeks, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were entirely devoted to the families at Nice and Trapezond, sent the young emperor Baldwin to solicit succours in person from the western princes. During his absence the Venetians, arriving with a powerful fleet at Constantinople, obliged the confederate forces of Azen and Vataces to retreat from that city. John of Brienne dying in 1237, the loss of so great a man would have proved fatal to the Latins, but for a misunderstanding that arose between the Greek emperor and king of Bulgaria, and was carried to such a height, that the latter having by stratagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's son, joined the Latins against him, and with them invested the city of Chiorli. In the mean time news being brought him of the death of his wife Anne, daughter to the king of Hungary, he dropped that enterprize, and returned home, where he soon after married the daughter of Theodorus Angelus, the late despot of Epirus, whom he had taken prisoner a few years before, and deprived of sight.

This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of Theodorus; for Azen not only set him at liberty, but assisted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been usurped by his brother Manuel. Being restored to his former power, he appointed his son to govern in his room, causing him to be acknowledged as emperor. This nomination gave no small umbrage to John Vataces, who pretended to be the sole emperor of the Greeks; therefore, upon the death of Azen, which happened soon after, he passed over into Thrace, then entering into an alliance with the Scythians, who had lately settled in Macedonia, he entered

the

the mock-emperor's territories, stripped him of great part ^{Vatates} of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of emperor, and content himself with that of despot. In 1239, the emperor Baldwin, returning from the West, arrived at Constantinople, and was crowned by the patriarch in the church of St. Sophia.^{*} He concluded an alliance with the Comneni reigning at Trapezond, and, with their assistance, besieged and took the city of Chiosli, which, however, was soon after retaken by Vatates, together with the island of Rhodes, which had been surprised a few years before by the Genoese. Vatates, having recovered the places which had been dismembered from his empire by the Latins, and not only made himself master of the greater part of Asia, but extended his conquests in Europe almost to the very gates of Constantinople, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-^{Vatates} three years, being then in the sixty-second year of his age.^{t.} *dies.*

Vatates was succeeded by his son Theodorus Lascaris, who, having renewed the ancient alliance with the sultan of Iconium, passed the Hellespont at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of Bulgaria, and the despot of Epirus, who had invaded his dominions in Macedonia and Thrace, with such success, that they were forced to sue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While he lay at Thessalonica, he received letters from Nice, informing him that Michael Palæologus, whom he had left governor of Asia during his absence, had secretly withdrawn to the Turks, under pretence that his enemies at court, by misrepresenting his conduct, had rendered him suspected to the emperor, whose displeasure he feared. As Michael was an officer of great courage and experience, the sultan of Iconium received him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and gave him the command of a body of Greeks in the Turkish pay, at the head of which he distinguished himself soon after in a battle between the Turks and Tartars, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the desertion of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the sultan, turned the fortune of the day. The Turkish army being almost entirely cut off, the victorious Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Persia, and the more eastern provinces, ravaged without control the countries belonging to them in Asia, and reduced the sultan to such distress, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor Theodorus, who received him in a very kind manner, and sent him back with a body of chosen troops, under the command of Isaac Du-

*Vatates reduces his
various places in
Thrace.*

*Yr. of Fl.
364.
A.D. 1255.
U.C. 2004.*

*Theodorus
Lascaris.*

*Michael
Palæologus
withdraws to
the Turks.*

* *Acron. in Vat. cap. viii.*

cas, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The sultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of Laodicea.

He is recalled home. In the mean time Theodosius, unwilling to lose a subject of such extraordinary parts as Palæologus, wrote a friendly letter, inviting him home, and promising to receive him into favour, and restore him to his former honours and employments. With this invitation Palæologus readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinstated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to Theodosius and his son. The emperor died soon after, having scarce reigned three years complete, leaving his son John, then about nine years old, his successor in the empire.

The emperor dies. Some time before his death he took the monastic habit, distributed great sums among the poor, and applied himself with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed Arsenius, the patriarch, and George Muzalo, guardians to the young prince. Muzalo was a person of mean descent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deserved to be raised to the highest employments in the state, which he had ever discharged with uncommon integrity, and a character altogether unblemished. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged to them, began to complain of his conduct, and censure all his measures.

Hereupon Muzalo, who sincerely desired to retire, and lead a private life, having assembled the nobility, offered to resign the administration to such as were thought the best qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: but they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themselves under a solemn oath to obey him, and during his minority, those whom the deceased emperor judged proper to entrust with the care of his son, and the government of the state. But notwithstanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility conspiring against Muzalo, on the day appointed for the obsequies of the late emperor, repaired to the abbey of Sassandra, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the crowd, in the midst of the service, attacked Muzalo with their drawn swords, and dispatched him at the altar, whether he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers Andronicus and Theodosius, men of distinguished characters.

Muzalo, the young prince's governor, murdered.

Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince. Muzalo being assassinated, the conspirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter stranger to state-affairs, declared Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He signalized the beginning of his administration with a

complete

complete victory over Michael Angelus, despot of Epirus, who, taking advantage of the distractions of the state after the death of Vatates, had broken into Thrace and Macedonia, at the head of a numerous army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by John Palæologus, the protector's brother, after having lost, in a desperate engagement, the flower of his army. When intelligence of this victory was brought to Magnesia, where Palæologus resided, he was, by the most powerful among the nobility, and the populace, saluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened to excommunicate both Palæologus and his adherents; but the protector binding himself, by a solemn oath, to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he should be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head.

Palæologus, thus raised to the empire, dispatched his brother Constantine with a considerable army into Peloponnesus, which was then possessed partly by the despot of Epirus, and partly by the Latins, but soon recovered by Constantine. Michael afterwards passed in person with a numerous army into Thrace, having nothing less in view than the reduction of Constantinople itself, the dominions of the Latins being now so dismembered, that scarce any thing was left to the inactive and slothful Baldwin besides the imperial city. However, Palæologus knowing the difficulty and dangers of such an undertaking, resolved to defer it to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himself master of the castle of Pera, in order to distress the Latins more effectually. But being in several successive assaults repulsed with considerable loss, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and retire. However, as he was master of the neighbouring country, before his departure he disposed his troops in such a manner, that the city being in some degreee blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity.

In the mean time Alexis Angelus, despot of Epirus, attempting, in breach of a late treaty with Palæologus, to recover the places he had lost in Thessaly and Greece, Alexius Strategopoulos, a person descended of an illustrious family, and for his eminent services distinguished with the title of Cæsar, was sent against him, with orders to surprise Constantinople. Alexius having passed the straits, encamped at Rheygium, where he was informed by the natives, that a strong body of the Latins was employed in the siege of Daphnusa, that the garrison was in great want of provisions, and that it would be no difficult matter to surprise

Yr. of Fl.
3609.
A.D. 1260
U.C. 2009

He is
crowned
emperor.

Yr. of Fl.
390.
A.D. 1261.
U.C. 1010.

*Alexius
Strategus
sur-
prises Con-
stantinople,
and expels
the Latins.*

the city. In consequence of this intelligence, the Greek general resolved at all events to attempt it. Being encouraged by some of the inhabitants, who coming privately to his camp, offered to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of night, which some of his men scaled without being observed; and killing the sentries, whom they found asleep, opened one of the gates to the rest of the army, who rushing in, put the inhabitants to the sword; and at the same time, to create more terror, set fire to the city in four different places. The Latins, concluding from thence the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not even attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguish the flames; but, struck with terror and amazement, suffered themselves to be cut in pieces in the streets, or their houses, which were soon filled with blood and slaughter. In this general confusion, the emperor Baldwin, quitting the ensigns of majesty, fled with Justinian the Latin patriarch, and some of his intimate friends, to the sea-side; and embarking in a small vessel, sailed first to Eubœa, and from thence to Venice, leaving the Greeks in possession of the imperial city, after it had been occupied fifty-eight, or, as some maintain, sixty years, by the Latins. This event happened in the year 1261 of the Christian æra, the second of the reign of Michael Palæologus¹. When news of the unexpected success of Alexius were first brought to Palæologus, at Nymphæum, he gave no credit to it; but receiving soon after letters from Alexius himself, with a particular account of so memorable an event, transported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches; appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in rich dresses, and ordered couriers to be immediately dispatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire.

*The em-
peror re-
moves his
court from
Nice to Con-
stantinople.*

*His entry
and public
rejoicings.*

The emperor having settled his affairs at Nice, proceeded to Constantinople with the empress, his son Andronicus, the senate, and the nobility, to take possession of the imperial city, and fix his residence in the place which at first had been destined for the seat of the eastern empire. Having passed the straits, he advanced to the Golden Gate, and continued some days without the walls, while the citizens were busied in making the necessary preparations to receive him with a magnificence suitable to the occasion. On the day appointed, the Golden Gate, which had been long closed, was opened, and the emperor entering it, amidst the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched

on foot to the great palace, preceded by the bishop of Cyzicus, carrying the image of the Virgin Mary, supposed to have been executed by St. Luke, and followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their most pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of St. Sophia, at which the emperor assisted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and the nobility. The exercises of piety were succeeded by all sorts of diversions, which continued several days, the nobility and chief citizens endeavouring to excel each other in testifying their joy by banquets and public sports, on such an extraordinary occasion. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully surveyed the imperial city: this inspection allayed in great measure the sense of his present good fortune; for he observed the stately palace of Blachernæ, with the other magnificent dwellings of the Roman emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings that had been erected by his predecessors at an immense charge, destroyed by fire, and other unavoidable accidents of war; several streets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choked up with the rubbish of the ruined houses. These objects gave the emperor great concern, and infused a desire of rebuilding the city, and restoring it to its former lustre. In the mean time, honouring Alexius as the restorer of his country, he caused him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name should in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of so great and glorious an action, he commanded his statue to be erected on a stately pillar of marble before the church of the Apostles.

His next care was to repeople the city, many Greek families having withdrawn, while it was held by the Latins, to settle elsewhere, and the Latins now preparing to return to their respective countries. The former were recalled; and the latter, in consideration of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The Genoese were allowed to live in one of the most beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates, and to trade without paying customs or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewise granted to the natives of Venise and Pisa, which encouraged them to lay aside all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the state. The emperor being soon after informed, that Baldwin had married his daughter to Charles,

*The Latins
encouraged
to continue
in the city.*

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king of Sicily, and given him by way of dowry the city of Constantinople, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the Genoese, who were become very numerous, and might have done great mischief, if the city had been attacked, to remove first to Heraclea, and afterwards to Galata, where they continued. The Pisans and Venetians, who were not so numerous and wealthy, were allowed to continue in the city^m. The emperor, having thus settled the State, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, thought of securing to himself and his posterity the sovereignty, which he only held in trust, and was to resign to the young prince as soon as he came of age. Causing himself to be crowned again, in the imperial city, he soon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his right, pretending, that no one but himself had any title to the city or empire of Constantinople, which he alone had recovered from the Latins.

Palæologus puts out the eyes of the young emperor, and causes himself to be acknowledged sole emperor.

He is involved in great trouble.

This treason and barbarity involved him in endless troubles and dangers. Arsenius the patriarch immediately excommunicated him, and all those who had been accessory to his crime; a step which occasioned great disturbances in the city. At the same time Michael, despot of Epirus, and Constantine, king of Bulgaria, who had married the young emperor's sister, breaking into Thrace, ravaged that country with fire and sword. Palæologus marched against them in person; but, as he was returning without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked by the Bulgarians, and would have unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not escaped by sea on board a small vessel, which conveyed him to Constantinople. The troops he had with him were for the most part killed, or taken prisoners; and the Bulgarians, being reinforced with twenty thousand Tatars, desolated the country with the greatest cruelty. The Venetians, observing the distracted state of the empire, seized that opportunity to recover the islands in the Archipelago, which Palæologus had taken after the reduction of Constantinople. The Venetians were joined by the king of Sicily, and most of the western princes, who, combining against Palæologus, would at all likelihood have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope Urban IV. to espouse his cause, by promising to submit himself and his dominions to the Latin church. The pope persuaded Charles, count of Anjou and king of Sicily, to conclude a peace with him; and Palæologus, on his side, did all that lay in his power to establish an union between the two

churches, acknowledging the supremacy of the pope in the famous council of Lyons, held in the year 1274. This submission occasioned great disturbances at Constantinople, and throughout the empire, Joseph the patriarch, and most of the clergy, openly inveighing against these innovations; clamours which provoked Palæologus to such a degree, that he caused those who appeared most obstinate to be imprisoned and cruelly racked, and banished the rest, with the patriarch Joseph, in whose room Veccus was chosen. However, not long after, Simon of Bire, a native of France, being, by the interest of Charles king of Sicily, chosen pope, on which occasion he took the name of Martin IV. he solemnly excommunicated Michael for having contributed to the horrid massacre of the French in Sicily, which happened on Easter-day, the thirtieth of March, 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. At length the unhappy prince, oppressed with cares, was taken ill on his march against the Turks, who had invaded the eastern provinces; and his distemper increasing daily, he was obliged to halt at Allodium. There he received the ambassadors of the Tartars, whom he had invited to his assistance, and soon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and reigned almost twenty-four.^a

Yr. of Fl.
3623.
A.D. 1284.
U.C. 1032.*Union of
the Greek
and Latin
churches.*Yr. of Fl.
3632.
A.D. 1283.
U.C. 1032.*The empe-
ror dies.**Androni-
cus Palæo-
logus.*

He was succeeded by his son Andronicus Palæologus, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by restoring the ceremonies of the Greek church, and refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, annulled what his father had done with respect to the union of the two churches: but such as had received the Latin ceremonies defending them with great obstinacy, and those of the contrary faction, countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had received in the late reign, the schism was revived, and such animosities ensued as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to restore the ancient ceremonies offended such only as were attached to the Latin church; but his conduct towards his brother Constantine estranged the minds of both parties from him. Constantine was the darling of the people; and being sent by the late emperor his father into Asia, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had in several battles overthrown the Turks. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him suspected to the emperor, he was by his orders seized and thrown into prison, with several other persons of great distinction, amongst whom was Michael Stra-

*Jealous of
his brother
Constan-
tine.*

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Izopulus, son to the celebrated Alexius, who had recovered Constantinople from the Latins. Upon the removal of these brave officers, the Turks, under the conduct of the famous Othoman, subdued several places in Phrygia, Caria, and Bithynia, and among the rest the city of Nice. To put a stop to their conquests, the emperor dispatched into Asia Philanthropenus and Libadarius, two officers of great reputation and experience, appointing the latter governor of the cities of Ionia, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the Maeander.

Alexius
Philan-
thropinus;
revolts;

but is be-
trayed by
his own
men.

The empe-
ror's forces
defeated by
the Turks.

Philanthropenus gained several advantages over the Turks; but, elated with success, he assumed the purple, and marched against Libadarius, who had declared him a public enemy, and set a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the Cretans, who served under Philanthropenus, and had been previously corrupted by Libadarius, seizing their leader, delivered him to his adversary, who caused his eyes to be put out. In the mean time the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine disturbances, not only extended their dominions in Asia, but conquered most of the islands in the Mediterranean; and being masters at sea, infested the coasts of the empire, to the entire ruin of trade and commerce. In this distracted state of affairs, the emperor, distrusting his own subjects, received into his pay ten thousand Massagetes or Alans, who being expelled their own country by the Tartars, had passed the Danube. These being sent into Asia, under the conduct of Michael, the emperor's eldest son, whom he had lately declared his colleague in the empire, the Turks, at their approach, retired into the mountains; whence soon after they came suddenly down, and assaulting the Massagetes, while they lay in camp, without the least apprehension of danger, routed them notwithstanding all the efforts of the young emperor, who on that occasion distinguished himself in a most eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to retreat, and take refuge in the strong castle of Magnesia. The Massagetes, abandoning him, marched directly to the Hellespont, ravaging the countries through which they passed, and thence crossed over into Europe. The Turks, pursuing them, reduced all the forts to the sea-side. Michael, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands, at length reached Constantinople.

The emperor, notwithstanding the shameful conduct of the Massagetes, reposing still greater trust in strangers than in his own subjects, of whom he was grown jealous since the rebellion of Philanthropenus, took into his service a body of Catalans, under the command of Bonzerius or Rouzerius,

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zarius, who had formerly served in the wars between the kings of Sicily and Naples; and having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, detached him with his troops to the relief of Philadelphia, then closely besieged by the Turks, whom, upon his arrival, he obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire. Upon their retreat he turned his arms against those whom he was sent to protect, subjecting the inhabitants to the rage and lust of those dissolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in Asia, he returned with his Catalans to Europe, and leaving the rest at Callipolis, went with two hundred chosen men, to demand of the young emperor Michael, lying then at Orestias in Thrace, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himself and his troops. Michael, justly provoked at his late conduct in Asia, and incensed against him on account of his insolent carriage, ordered his guards to attack him, who accordingly cut him and most of his men in pieces. Those who escaped, flying to Callipolis, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who, transported with rage, first put all the citizens to the sword, and then fortifying themselves, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they distrusted their own strength, they sent for assistance to the Turks, who inhabited the opposite country of Asia, and they immediately sent over five hundred chosen men to their assistance. These were soon followed by others, who, joining the Catalans, laid waste the neighbouring country; and having with great expedition equipped and manned eight gallies, plundered all the merchant-ships in the straits, and would have greatly distressed the imperial city itself, had not their small fleet been encountered and destroyed by the Genoese. On this occasion the Turks came first into Europe; an event which we may deservedly reckon one of the most fatal that ever happened to the empire.

The emperor Michael marched against the Catalans and Turks with a considerable army, consisting of Greeks, Mafagetes, and other auxiliaries; but the confederates withdrawing as soon as the signal for battle was given, and standing at a small distance as idle spectators, the Greeks were so discouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promises retard their flight. He performed all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant soldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either by his words or example, and his horse being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his escape to Didymothicum, where his father lay encamped. After this victory the Catalans and Turks overran all Thrace, destroying every

The Catalans revolt.

Their leader is killed by the emperor's order.
They seize on Callipolis.

*Yr. of Fl.
3641.
A.D. 1292.
U.C. 2041.*

The Turks first in Europe.

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Thrace ravaged by the Catalans and Turks.

thing with fire and sword, till finding it impossible for them to subsist longer in that country, the Catalans resolved to invade Thessaly; but the Turks, desirous of returning home with their booty, separated from them, being then thirteen thousand horse and eight hundred foot. Directing their march through Macedon, they acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would grant a safe passage through his dominions, and supply them with ships to transport them into Asia. To this proposal the emperor readily conformed, and accordingly ordered the necessary vessels to be prepared with the utmost expedition. But the Greek officers, observing the immense booty with which they were loaded, began to contrive how they should make themselves masters of it, and in the end resolved to attack the Turks in the night, and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the subjects of the empire, and enrich themselves with the booty. The matter was not managed with such secrecy but the Turks had timely intimation of their design. Hereupon, having surprised a strong castle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence; and at the same time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other side of the straits with the danger that threatened them, who, allured with the hopes of booty, hastened to their assistance, and crossing the Hellespont, ravaged the adjacent country, making excursions to the very gates of Constantinople.

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks;

The emperor, roused by the daily complaints of the people, resolved to exterminate the Turks; and accordingly marched against them with all his forces, the country-people assembling from all parts with their spades, mattocks, and other instruments of husbandry, in order to assist him in the reduction of the castle. The Turks were greatly alarmed at their approach, and considered themselves as inevitably lost; but afterwards observing that the Greeks, who had closely besieged the place, confiding in their strength and numbers, neglected all discipline, they resumed courage, and sallying out with no more than eight hundred chosen horse, penetrated, almost without opposition, to the emperor's tent; a circumstance which struck the undisciplined peasants with such terror, that they fled with precipitation. Their example was followed by the rest of the army, though the emperor, and some of the officers, made several bold efforts, hoping to stop the flight of the dispirited multitude; but the cowardly Greeks could not by any means be prevailed upon to encounter the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and taken some of the chief officers prisoners, stormed the emperor's camp, in which they

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they found a large sum, designed for the payment of the troops, several standards, the imperial crown enriched with precious stones of an inestimable value, and all the baggage of the army.

After this unexpected victory the Turks ravaged Thrace for two years without opposition; which brought unspeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to till their ground. At length Philes Palæologus, a person nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, obtained permission to march against the enemy, with such officers and soldiers as the emperor should think fit to appoint for that service, not doubting but, with the assistance of Heaven, he should revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As Philes was an entire stranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor esteeming him chosen by Providence for the relief of his oppressed country, readily complied with his request. Philes' first care was to establish proper discipline among his soldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and sobriety, encouraging them with frequent gifts, and promising to reward each of them, at the end of the war, according to his deserts. Having thus modelled his small army according to his desire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wishes of the emperor, and the whole people. Being informed, soon after his departure from Constantinople, that Chaleb, the Turkish commander, was ravaging the country about Bizia, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, he marched immediately against him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called Xerogipsum, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy, with their booty, were approaching. Having therefore drawn up his men in order of battle, and, with a pathetic speech, encouraged them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at sun-rising.

The Turks, not in the least terrified, having formed a strong barricade with their waggons, and secured their prisoners, advanced in good order against the imperial troops, who received them with great resolution and intrepidity. Philes, having first invoked the divine assistance, charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horse being killed under him he was obliged to withdraw; a circumstance which somewhat damped the ardour of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with fresh vigour upon the enemy with the most resolute of his men,

who re-
vage
Thrace.

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And are
now
over-
thrown by
Philes Pa-
leologus;

and are
now up in
the Chero-
nesus.

They are
all cut to
pieces or
taken.

put their horse to flight, and then dismounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry, with such resolution, that the Turks, no longer able to withstand them, fled with precipitation. Philes pursued them with great slaughter to the entrance into the Chersonesus, with a design to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, transported with joy at this victory, dispatched immediately five gallies, which were reinforced with eight more sent by the Genoese of Pera, to guard the freights, and prevent their receiving any assistance from Asia. At the same time Philes' army was reinforced with two hundred chosen horse, furnished by Crates, king of Servia, who had married the emperor's daughter. The Turks, being thus surrounded both by sea and land, Philes, advancing with his forces to the castle they had seized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines, which did great execution. The Turks, despairing of relief, and weakened by daily skirmishes, resolved to break through the Greeks sword in hand; but finding them, when they first fell out, upon their guard, and ready to receive them, they returned to their castle; yet not so discouraged as not to attempt a few days after to cut themselves a way through the Servians; whose attempt proving equally unsuccessful, they began to despair. Having therefore cast away their arms, and taken with them their gold and silver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of night they retired towards the sea-side, with a design to surrender themselves to the Genoese, who, they hoped, would shew them more mercy than the Greeks, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, mistaking the Greek for the Genoese gallies, fell into the hands of their most implacable enemies, by whom they were massacred without compassion. The rest fared not much better; for the Genoese killed such as brought the most money with them, lest in time they should discover it to the Greeks, who would have claimed it. The poorer sort they loaded with chains, sending some of them to the emperor, and keeping the rest for their own slaves.^a Thus was Europe delivered for the present from the Turks; but the time is approaching when we shall see them, through the indolence of the emperors, and the cowardice of the Greeks, firmly established on this side the freights, to the total ruin of the empire.

The unhappy emperor was soon after involved in greater troubles: Michael, his eldest son, and colleague in the em-

^a Gregor. lib. iii. cap. 14—17. Cephaletius. lib. iii. Pachym. lib. iii. cap. 36, 37.

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The young
prince
makes his
escape.

Yr. of Fl.
3670.
A.D. 1321.
U.C. 2070.

and openly
revolts.

The empe-
or obliged
to divide
the empire
with him.

Yr. of Fl.
3676.
A.D. 1327.
U.C. 2076.

Prusa ta-
ken by the
Turks.

his dilolute counsellors and companions, soon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to entertain the same ambitious thoughts he had adopted before. The emperor, perceiving he was become irrecoverable, resolved to secure him, and by that expedient prevent the disturbances in which he foresaw the state would be otherwise unavoidably involved. This resolution was communicated by the emperor to Gerasimus the patriarch, and by him scandalously betrayed to the prince, who fled with his accomplices and partisans, the very night he was to have been apprehended, and escaped to Adrianople.

The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, declared him a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of Constantinople, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arrived at Adrianople, was acknowledged emperor by Syrgiannes, Cantacuzenus, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in Thrace; so that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a considerable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of Syrgiannes, Constantinople, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, despatched Theoleptus, bishop of Philadelphia, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at Orestias, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have Thrace, from Christopolis to Rhegium, and the suburbs of Constantinople, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without molestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor should retain Constantinople, with all the cities and islands in the East; and in the West the whole country lying between Christopolis and Dyrrachium.

In the mean time the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine broils, extended their dominions in Asia, reduced many places on the Meander, and among the rest the strong and important city of Prusa in Bithynia. Othoman had some years before attempted to take it by storm; but being repulsed with great loss, he had built two strong castles at a small distance from the city, and left numerous garrisons, under the command of two of his best generals, Actemur and Balabanzuch, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced

the inhabitants and the garrison to the utmost extremity. Great numbers of them died for want of necessaries, the rest, despairing of relief, were obliged to capitulate, and submit to Orchanes, the son of Othoman, who was then indisposed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garrison should be allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. These two articles were faithfully observed by Orchanes, who, entering Prusa, took possession of that important place in the year 1327, and, upon the death of his father Othoman, made it the seat of the Turkish empire.

To return to Andronicus: the agreement between him and ^{The emperor} his grandson was but of short duration; for Syrgiannes, ^{or and his} who had first advised the young prince to revolt, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of submission to the emperor, and, upon promise of pardon, withdrew privately from the army in Thrace, and repaired to Constantinople, where he incensed the emperor against his grandson to such a degree, that the war was renewed on both sides. Constantine, the emperor's son, was sent with a considerable army to Thessalonica, to take upon him the government of Macedon, and to invade the territories lately ceded to the prince, while Syrgiannes, at the head of a body of Turks, who had entered into the emperor's service, reduced that part of Thrace, which lay next to Constantinople. Against Syrgiannes the prince dispatched Synadenus, an officer of great reputation; but marched in person against his uncle Constantine, being incensed against him for having seized on his mother Xene, and sent her prisoner to Constantinople. Constantine gained several advantages over him; which reduced him to great difficulties: but the prince having reported, that his grandfather was dead, Constantine was so alarmed at the unexpected news, to which he gave entire credit, that he retired in the utmost consternation to Thessalonica. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and soon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, suspected of maintaining a private correspondence with the prince, and send them in chains to Constantinople. The letters were delivered to Constantine with the utmost secrecy; but the citizens nevertheless, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, armed the populace; who seizing on Constantine, delivered him to his nephew, by whom he was kept closely confined as long as he lived. At the same time the Turks under Syrgiannes, quitting the emperor's service, retired home; a circumstance

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circumstances which obliged that general to return hastily to Constantinople.

The peace restored. Upon his retreat, Synadenus reduced several places in Thrace, and threatened to besiege the imperial city itself. The emperor was alarmed to such a degree that he released Xene, and sent her to her son, then encamped at Rhegium, with proposals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promising to take him for his colleague in the empire, and to cause him to be solemnly crowned, with his wife Anne of Savoy, whom he had lately married upon the death of Irene his first wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. Sophia with the utmost magnificence; but the prince, urged by ambition, and impatient of a colleague, resolved soon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without control. With this view he entered into an alliance with Michael, prince of Bulgaria, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diversion in Servia, if the prince of that country should move to the assistance of the emperor. This compact being made, the prince, withdrawing privately from Constantinople, seized on the public revenue in Thrace; of which circumstance the emperor receiving intelligence, refused to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the same time his lieutenants in Macedon, and the neighbouring provinces, to act against him as a public enemy. The prince in the mean time, by pretending to comply in any thing reasonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that they could scarce be restrained, in Constantinople itself, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, having summoned the patriarch, and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. The majority agreed that his name should be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch, who privately favoured him, summoning the people, pronounced sentence of excommunication against such as should presume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; a circumstance which so incensed the emperor, that he caused the patriarch to be deposed, and confined to the monastery of Mangana.

They disagree again. The prince, who was then at Rhegium, being informed of what passed in the metropolis, approached with thirteen hundred chosen men, and leaving his army at some distance, rode up with Cantacuzenus, and a guard of thirty soldiers, to one of the gates, desiring to be admitted to confer with

his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by Phocas Maroles, who commanded the guards in the city, sent him, by the same officer, orders to retire, without attempting to corrupt his subjects; some even reviled him from the walls with most bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having solemnly declared, that he desired nothing more than to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to Selymbria, and from thence into Macedon, where he took, almost without opposition, several castles and forts; and then marched to Thessalonica, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was at last compelled to submit, the prince having surprised and cut off a body of three hundred chosen men, sent by the emperor to reinforce the garrison. The emperor, alarmed at the progress of his grandson's arms, applied to the king of Bulgaria for assistance, who immediately dispatched a considerable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the meantime defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the Melanes, advanced by long marches to Constantinople. However, three thousand Bulgarian horse reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheless, distrusting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already suffered unspeakable calamities, admitted only their commander in chief, and a small number of officers, into the city, assigning to the rest quarters in the suburbs. As this disposition gave the prince, who arrived soon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich presents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country.

The Bulgarians being removed, the prince prepared for the siege of Constantinople; but in the mean time two of the soldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, deserting to the prince in the night, offered to betray the city into his hand: accordingly, being encouraged with the promise of a reward answerable to that important service, they returned into the city undiscovered; and the following night, while the rest of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had supplied them in great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, bursting open the Roman gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making any opposition, that, with loud acclamations, they saluted young Andronicus emperor. Gregoras, though greatly attached to the old em-

*The prince
seizes on
several
places in
Macedon.*

*The city of
Constantinople
trayed to
him.*

His conduct towards the old emperor;

who is deprived of all power.

Andronicus III.

Yr. of Fl.

3677.

A.D. 1328.

D.C. 2077.

His wars with the Bulgarians.

peror, and not a little prejudiced against young Andronicus, relates, that the prince, ascribing the success that had attended his arms since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city issued orders forbidding, on pain of death, any of his officers or soldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grandfather. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in person, and was so affected with the speech which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and with words full of duty and respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. He then returned solemn thanks to Heaven, for having put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and repairing to the monastery of Mangana, reconducted the patriarch in triumph to his church, where he restored him to his former dignity^q. Young Andronicus, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took entirely into his own hands, governing with absolute authority, without even consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of the despot Demetrios. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state.

In the beginning of his reign, the king of Bulgaria, entering Thrace at the head of a numerous army, consisting partly of Bulgarians and partly of Scythians, plundered several cities, and ravaged the whole country. Andronicus, having with incredible expedition raised a considerable army, appeared unexpectedly at Byzantium, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of Bulgaria lay encamped. His sudden arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. Andronicus pursued them, and carrying the war into Bulgaria, desolated the country to a great extent, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, though at the head of a very powerful and numerous army, sued for peace; which, after several conferences, was concluded upon terms highly

^q Gregor. lib. ix. Cantacuzen. lib. i. cap. 50—59. Onuph. & Gebeb. in Chron.

honourable to Andronicus. After this accommodation, the two princes had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their ancient friendship, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms against the Turks, who, taking advantage of the domestic quarrels among the Greek princes, had greatly enlarged their dominions in Asia. Othoman, whom we may justly style the founder of the Turkish empire, being lately dead, the emperor embraced that opportunity to recover several places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the rest the famous city of Nice, with a strong castle on the Sangarius, which commanded the passes leading into Bithynia. This castle, however, was soon after re-taken by Urchan or Orchanes, son and successor of Othoman, who, having happily settled his affairs at home, raised a formidable army, and entering Bithynia as soon as the emperor had left that country, made himself master of several places, and at last invested Nice.

*Hereto-
vers Nice
and other
places from
the Turks*

The emperor, who was at Constantinople, leaving the imperial city, hastened into Asia; and advancing as far as Philocrene, encamped at a small distance from the Turks; who, after having harassed his men with frequent skirmishes and sudden attacks, fell upon him at length with their whole army. In this battle both sides behaved with great bravery and resolution; but the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow, and obliged to retire, his troops, no longer animated by his example, retreated in the utmost confusion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to Philocrene, to have his wound dressed, a report was spread in the camp that he was killed; which so dispirited his men, that they fled with precipitation, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, seized on the rich booty which they had abandoned, and, amongst other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. Andronicus, after this misfortune, returned to Constantinople, while the Turks, having now no enemy to oppose, made themselves masters of all the maritime towns in Bithynia, and Nice itself, by the following stratagem: Andronicus, ^{by whom he} ^{is in the end defeated.} Yr. of St. 1673. A.D. 1329. U.C. 1073. when he left Asia, had promised to reinforce the garrison of Nice with a thousand horse. Orchanes, being informed of this promise, armed the like number of his own men after the Roman manner, and marching with them in person through bye-ways into the road leading from Constantinople, dispatched three hundred more, armed like Turks, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he ap-

*The Turks
recover
Nice;*

prospered the place, he pretended suddenly to have discovered the enemy ; and, leading his men against the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty.

As this scene was acted in the sight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended Romans were received with great joy by the inhabitants ; but the gates were no sooner opened than they fell sword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, cut the garrison in pieces, and made themselves masters of the city. After this acquisition Orchanes, leading his men to the sea-side, besieged Abydus, which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two sons Solyman and Amurath, reduced several other important places in Asia, and among the rest the ancient city of Nicomedia. As the emperor was at this time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was despaired of, the court was in too great a confusion to think of the proper measures for restraining the conquests of the Turks in Asia. Those who had been instrumental in the late revolution, could not reflect, without horror, on the condition to which they must inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power and authority. This consideration induced Cantacuzenus, and some others, if Gregoras is to be credited, to resolve on the old emperor's death ; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all agreed to confine him to a monastery, and force him to take the monastic habit, and exchange the name of Andronicus for that of Antony ; a step which was taken accordingly.

*Andronicus
the elder
confined to
a monaste-
ry, where
he dies.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3679.
A.D. 1330.
U.C. 2079.*

*A dishon-
ourable
peace con-
cluded
with the
Turks.*

Young Andronicus intended, during his illness, to restore the crown to his grandfather ; but, upon his recovery, he suffered him to continue in the monastery, retaining the whole power to himself.

In the mean time the Turks pursued their conquests in Asia, and threatened Europe itself with an invasion. As the emperor was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, he was persuaded by Cantacuzenus to conclude a dishonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to retain the places and countries they had conquered in Asia, and suffer the Romans peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wrested from them. Not long after, the inhabitants of Thessaly revolting, the emperor marched against them in person ; but while he was employed in this expedition, the Turks, who observed peace no longer than it suited their interest, invaded Europe ; and, having ravaged Thrace, repassed the straits with an impene-

mense booty, and a great number of captives. Andronicus died soon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he deposed his grandfather, and 1341 of the Christian æra.

Andronicus the younger left two sons, John and Manuel, of whom the eldest was declared emperor; but, as he was then only nine years old, John Cantacuzenus was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. Cantacuzenus governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother; provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow, for the security of the provinces; and in short, omitted nothing that could be expected from the faithful, zealous, and disinterested minister. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince against the approbation of John the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and claimed a share in the administration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him suspected to the empress Anne, representing that he intended to usurp the imperial dignity. As the patriarch had great credit with the empress, Cantacuzenus, apprehending he might gain the ascendant over her to his utter ruin, wished to resign his charge, and earnestly pressed the empress for leave to retire; but she refusing to comply with his request, and assuring him, that she was fully convinced of his integrity, and consequently determined to shut her ears against the unjust calumnies, and malicious insinuations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the administration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the princesses with the dangers she had to apprehend from the protector, and misconstruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take such measures as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving credit to the insinuations of the patriarch, she began to look upon Cantacuzenus as an enemy to herself and her family; and, having caused many of his friends and relations to be apprehended while he was absent at Didymothicum, she sent him orders to resign his office, and retire to a private life; a command which he refusing to obey, till he had an opportunity of justifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocence, the empress declared him a public enemy and traitor.

Cantacuzenus, now certified, that his enemies aimed at nothing less than his total destruction, thought it necessary to provide for his own safety. Being at the head of a powerful army, which he had raised to oppose the Servians,

*Andronicus
the younger
dies.*

*John Pa-
triarch
as an
enemy to
Canta-
zenus, the
young
prince's
guardian.*

*The patri-
arch an
enemy to
Canta-
zenus, the
young
prince's
guardian.*

*Canta-
zenus de-
clared a
public
enemy.*

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who, upon the emperor's death, had invaded the empire, and having with him several persons of great authority, who advised him to assume the purple, as the only means of defeating the designs of his enemies, he complied with their advice, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at Didymothicum in 1342, the second year of his administration. When this revolt was known at Constantinople, his mother, and the rest of his friends and relations in the city, were immediately apprehended, and thrown into prison, his estate was confiscated, and troops were levied to stifle the rebellion in its birth. Having assumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and soldiery, in a long speech, with the motives that had induced him to take that step, which, he said, the malice of his enemies had rendered necessary. He then allowed all those, whose friends and relations were at Constantinople, to depart, lest, by continuing with him, they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends. The rest of the army declaring themselves ready to defend him to the last, advanced to Adrianople, the inhabitants of which city had seized on all his adherents, and sent them in chains to Constantinople. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of Bulgarians were advancing to join the imperial troops, and attack him with their united forces. This intelligence obliged him to lay aside the design he had formed against Adrianople, and retire to the sea-side, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the Turks in Asia, with whom he had entered into an alliance upon his first assuming the imperial dignity. Though they offered him large supplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all possible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messenger who brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison; Cantacuzenus was again declared a public enemy, and his relations, who had not the good luck to make their escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty.

*His offer
for a peace
rejected.*

*His mother
treated with
great cru-
elty.*

His mother was delivered to Apocaucus, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the greatest barbarity, telling her sometimes, that her son was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to Constantinople. Her concern, and the cruel usage she received having thrown her into a violent fever, Apocaucus would suffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, recommended the unhappy princess to her own physicians, but who were not admitted by the patriarch and Apocaucus to visit her, till they had formally sworn not to administer any remedy for her relief.

Being

*Yr. of Fl.
1342.
A.D. 1342.
U.C. 2091.*

*He assumes
the purple,*

Being thus destitute of help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died, to the great grief of the empress, who being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and highly incensed against the patriarch and Apocaucus, obliged them to send deputies to Cantacuzenus, with overtures for an accommodation; but the envoys, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress, that Cantacuzenus rejected all terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two sons, and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, Andronicus and Thomas Palæologi were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into Thrace, which country had declared for Cantacuzenus. At the same time a fleet, consisting of sixty gallies, was equipped, to prevent the Turks from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Apocaucus took upon himself the command of this fleet; and having driven back the Turks attempting to cross the straits, and succour their ally, reduced Cantacuzenus to such difficulties, that he was forced to quit Thrace, and take refuge in the dominions of Crales, prince of Moesia, who received him with great demonstrations of esteem and affection, and placed him at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained several advantages over the emperor's forces, and recovered the greater part of Thrace.

His enemies, finding they could not overcome him by force, had recourse to treachery, and with large promises prevailed upon Monomachus to dispatch him by poison.
His enemies attempt to poison him. Accordingly Monomachus, repairing to his camp at Selymbria, the better to compass his wicked purpose, confessed the errand on which he was employed; but pretending to be touched with remorse, he fell down at his feet, and delivered the poison which he was to have administered. Cantacuzenus received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with presents, and taking him into his favour, reposed so great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design into execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not Cantacuzenus been privately cautioned by his friends at Constantinople to be upon his guard. In the mean time Cantacuzenus, having subdued all Macedon and Thrace, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, dreading the calamities attending a long siege, resolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquaint-

*He is received into
Constantinople.*

*Yr. of El.
A.D. 1347.
U.C. 1396*

*And
crowned
emperor,*

*He governs
with great
 equity and
 moderation,*

ed him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and seizing one of the gates, admitted him and his whole army, saluting him as he entered with the title of emperor. They were joined by the populace, who flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. The empresses continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to defend to the last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly intreating her not to expose both herself and him to the fury of the incensed multitude, she was prevailed upon to come to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms: that Cantacuzenus should be declared colleague to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, Palæologus being then but fifteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should mutually pass. This agreement being signed and sworn to by Cantacuzenus, Palæologus, and the empress Anne, on the eighth of February, 1347, the new emperor was received the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned in the usual solemnity by Isidore, the new patriarch of Constantinople, John his predecessor being deposed, and banished. That the union between the two princes might be more lasting, Cantacuzenus gave his daughter Helena in marriage to young Palæologus, and caused her to be likewise crowned, and acknowledged empress by the nobility and people. As Cantacuzenus had been powerfully assisted by Orchanes, the Turkish sultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correspondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy, and some zealous Christians, who, by exclaiming against so strict an alliance and intimacy between a Christian and a Mahomedan prince, estranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from Cantacuzenus.

However, he governed the empire for the space of ten years with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the sixth year of his administration, the Genoese of Galata, who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's not allowing them to enlarge their city, set fire to several buildings in the suburbs of Constantinople, seized on all the emperor's ships riding in the harbour, and made open war in the empire, in which they gained several advantages at sea, and reduced some islands in the Archipelago. When

Cantacuzenus lib. iii. cap. 10. & lib. ix. cap. 1, 2.

Palæo-

Palæologus came to govern jointly with him, Crales, King of the Servians, enraged against Cantacuzenus for having obliged him to restore some cities, which he had seized during the late troubles, gained over with rich presents several persons of distinction, who by insinuating to the young emperor, that Cantacuzenus designed to confine him to a monastery, to usurp the whole power, and transmit the sovereignty to his posterity, raised a jealousy between the two princes, which soon after broke out into open war; Palæologus being on the one hand assisted by Crales, king of Servia, and Alexander, prince of Bulgaria; and Cantacuzenus on the other by Orchanes, the Turkish sultan. In a battle which was fought in Thrace, the young emperor's army was totally defeated, and himself obliged to take refuge in Constantinople, all the other cities in Thrace having opened their gates to the conqueror. However, a peace was concluded between the princes; which was no sooner signed, than Cantacuzenus, divesting himself of all power, retired to the monastery of Mangana, and took the monastic habit. But his son Matthew, whom he had some time before declared emperor, pursued the war, and surprised several cities in Thrace, and among the rest Adrianople. Palæologus marched against him in person; and having defeated his army, though reinforced before the battle with five thousand Turks sent by Orchanes, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his fortresses; whence, while he was making his escape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was seized by Boienas, and delivered to Palæologus, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, set him at liberty.

A war
breaks out
between
the two
princes.

Yr. of Fl.
3704.
A.D. 1355.
U.C. 2104.

Cantacu-
zenus re-
signs.

During these civil commotions, the Turks, under the conduct of Solyman, the son, or brother of Orchanes, passed the Hellespont, and having seized on a strong castle called Coridocustron, marched from thence against Gallipolis, which Solyman took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garrison to give him battle. Thus the Turks, after having reduced all Asia, first settled in Europe, where they have continued ever since. This event happened in the year 1357. Orchanes dying soon after, Amurath, his son and successor, pursued the conquests which Solyman had begun; and having subdued great part of Thrace, laid siege to Adrianople, which was forced to submit; the emperor not being in a condition to withstand so powerful an enemy. Amurath having in a short time conquered all Thrace, made Adrianople the seat

The Turks
first settled
in Europe.

Yr. of M.
3706.
A.D. 1357.
U.C. 2106.

They take
Adrianople.

The Constantinopolitan History.

of his empire in Europe, as the most proper place for enlarging his dominions, and extending his conquests to Greece, and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time Andronicus, the emperor's eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of sight, and kept under close confinement. However, after two years imprisonment, he made his escape, being favoured by the Genoese of Galata, with whose assistance he made war upon his father. Being admitted into Constantinople, he was proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, Manuel and Theodorus, into his power, he confined them to the same prison in which he had been detained; but they having likewise, after two years, made their escape, Andronicus, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the Turks were ready to seize on the few countries still left to the empire, restored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him Selymbria, and several other places in that neighbourhood.

In the mean time Amurath the Turkish sultan being treacherously slain, his son Bajazet succeeded him in his dominions; and, pursuing the conquests which had been so successfully carried on by his predecessors in Europe, reduced Thessaly, Macedon, Phocis, Peloponnesus, Mysia, and Bulgaria, driving out the despots, or petty princes, who governed those countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to consider the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but Constantinople, and the neighbouring country, as his ~~peril~~, and, accordingly sent him an arrogant and haughty message, requiring, or rather commanding him to pay a yearly tribute, and send his son Manuel to attend him in his military expeditions. With this dishonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being unable to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy.

Fr. of Fl.
1741.
A.D. 1392.
U.C. 5142.

The unhappy prince died in 1392, the thirty-seventh of his reign, leaving no son but Manuel; the other two, Andronicus and Theodore, being dead some time before.

Manuel, who was then in Bajazet's court, hearing of his father's death, hastened to Constantinople, without taking leave of the sultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his sudden departure; a circumstance which Bajazet highly resenting, punished the officers, who had suffered him to escape, with the greatest severity. Passing with great expedition out of Bithynia into Thrace, he destroyed with fire and sword the country adjoining to Constantinople, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns,

*John Palaeologus
died.
Manuel.*

invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who, having raised an army of a hundred and thirty thousand men, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of Sigismund king of Hungary, and John count of Nevers. The western troops were at first attended with great success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered Widin, and several other places of importance in Bulgaria, and invested Nicopolis. Bajazet, raising the siege of Constantinople, marched, with all the forces he could assemble, to relieve the place.

Upon his approach, Sigismund, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched with the rest to meet the enemy. An engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the French cavalry having dismounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding they were all cut in pieces, began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This mistake infused new courage and vigour in the enemy, who charging the Christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confusion. The Turks pursued them to their camp, which they took, with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the count of Nevers, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count himself, and five more, put to death in Bajazet's presence, after having been insulted in a most outrageous manner. Sigismund had the good fortune to make his escape, and crossing the Danube in a small boat, to get safe to his own dominions. This memorable battle, in which twenty thousand Christians were slain, and a much greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of Manuel's reign, and 1393 of the Christian æra^a. After this victory, Bajazet returned to the siege of Constantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to John the son of Andronicus, to whom the emperor had given the town of Selymbria. He entered into a private agreement with him, in virtue of which Bajazet was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the son of Manuel's elder brother. On the other hand, John was to yield the city of Constantinople to Bajazet, and remove the imperial seat to Peloponnesus, which the sultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. This agreement being pri-

Bajazet
befores
Constanti-
nople.

Yr. of M.
3742.
A.D. 1393.
U.C. 2142.

Defeats an
army of
130,000
Christians.

The Constantinopolitan History.

ately signed and sworn to by both parties, Bajazet dispatched deputies to the inhabitants of Constantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and abstain from all hostilities, provided they would expel Manuel, and place his nephew John on the throne, to which he had an unquestionable right. This politic proposal rent the whole city into two factions, some favouring Manuel, and others declaring for his nephew. The emperor being apprised of this division, and apprehensive of the evils attending a civil discord at so critical a conjuncture, acquainted his nephew, then in the Turkish camp, that to deliver his subjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was willing to resign the sovereignty to him, on condition he should be allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himself by sea to whatever place he should choose for his residence.

Manuel resigns the empire to his nephew John.

With this condition John readily complied. Manuel, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarked on board a galley, and set sail for Venice, where he landed, and from thence went to the several courts of the Christian princes, to solicit aid against the overgrown power of the Turks, now become formidable to all Europe. He was every-where received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies, all Christendom being alarmed at the late conquest of the Infidels.

Constantinople besieged by Bajazet;

John is overcome and taken prisoner by Tamerlane;

In the mean time John being crowned with the usual solemnity, Bajazet reminded him of their agreement, and pressed him to a speedy execution of the main article, which was to surrender Constantinople, and retire to Peloponnesus or Morea; but the citizens refusing, notwithstanding the unspeakable hardships they suffered, to comply with such a scandalous treaty, Bajazet renewed the siege, and assaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmost extremity, intelligence was brought him, that Tamerlane, the victorious Tartar, after having subdued Persia, and the more easterly provinces, had turned his arms against him, and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into Syria. Alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he hastily raised the siege, and passing the Hellespont, marched with the utmost expedition to Prusa, which he had appointed the place of general rendezvous, both for his eastern and western forces.

From Prusa he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, to meet Tamerlane, who defeated him entirely in the plains of Angoria in Galatia, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1401. Having taken the sultan himself prisoner, he, in order to punish his excessive pride, cruelty,

cruelty, and arrogance, confined him in an iron cage, ^{Yr. of Fl.} 3750.
against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following, though some ascribe his death to poison. ^{A.D. 1401.} U.C. 2150.

Manuel was no sooner informed of the captivity of his inveterate enemy Bajazet, than he returned to Constantinople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being incensed against John for his servile compliance with the Turks, expelled him the throne, and restored Manuel, by whom he was banished to the island of Lesbos. This great overthrow of the Turks had like to have occasioned the total dissolution of their empire both in Europe and Asia; for the five sons of Bajazet taking arms against each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years. Isa-Zelebis, Bajazet's third son, upon his father's death, was proclaimed sultan; but afterwards driven from the throne by his brother Solyman, as was Solyman by his brother Musa. At length Mohammed, Bajazet's youngest son, having overcome all his competitors, was universally acknowledged sultan, and the sole monarch of the Turks. The emperor Manuel, in the mean time, taking advantage of these intestine divisions, and joining sometimes one of the competitors, and sometimes another, recovered several provinces, which Mohammed, whom he had assisted against his brother Musa, suffered him peacefully to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424, the ^{Yr. of Fl.} 3773. ^{A.D. 1424.} ^{U.C. 2173.} seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign*. ^{Manuel dies.}

He was succeeded by his son John, in whose reign Amurath II. the son and successor of Mohammed, recovered all the provinces which had been seized after the death of Bajazet by the emperor and the other Christian princes. In the beginning of his reign he besieged Constantinople, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor, who, pretending to be Mustapha the son of Bajazet, was acknowledged for sultan in all the provinces of the Turkish empire in Europe. The citizens defended themselves with great bravery; but, being harassed with continual assaults, must have in the end submitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of Caramania to countenance another Mustapha, Amurath's younger brother, who, having revolted in Asia, was, with the supplies furnished by his new ally, enabled to lay siege to the city of Nice, which he soon reduced. This competition obliged Amurath to leave Constantinople, and march with all his forces against the usurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by Ieras, in whom he reposed great con-

*John Pa-
leologus.*

*Constantinople be-
sieged by
Amurath
II. who is
forced to
raise it.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

Thessalonica, and several other places, taken by Amurath.

sacrifice. Amurath ordered him to be immediately strangled; and then turning his arms against the prince of Caramania, obliged him to sue for peace; which the sultan granted upon what terms he thought proper to prescribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered Macedon at the head of a powerful army, and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to Thessalonica, which he took, and plundered with the utmost cruelty, as he did most of the cities of Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia. From Greece he marched into Servia, which country he soon reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of Hungary, besieged the strong city of Belgrade, which made a vigorous defence, fifteen thousand Turks being slain by the Christians in one sally; a loss which obliged Amurath to abandon the enterprize, and retire.

John Hunniades' success against the Turks.

In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who cut great numbers of his troops in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves under the walls of Sinderovia. Not long after, he gained a still more signal victory over the enemy in the plains of Transylvania, with the loss of no more than three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand Turks were killed on the spot, and almost an equal number in the pursuit. Amurath, who was at Adrianople, sent another army into Transylvania, more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better success, being cut off almost to a man by the brave Hungarian. Hunniades gained several other remarkable victories over the Turks, and recovered all Bulgaria and Servia; but was in the end defeated by Amurath, in the memorable battle of Varna, fought in the year 1444, the Christians being disheartened by the death of Uladislaus king of Hungary, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was surrounded on all sides, and cut in pieces. However, Hunniades having had the good fortune to make his escape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of Ladislaus, who was chosen king of Hungary in the room of Uladislaus, he raised a considerable army, and advanced to Cossiova, where he engaged Amurath.

Yr. of Fl. 1447. A.D. 1448. U.C. 2197. Held in the end routed by the Turks.

The battle lasted three days, both armies retiring to their respective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two first days the Christians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite exhausted, and overpowered with numbers, Amurath charging them with fresh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous resistance, put to flight, and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448, thirty-four thousand

sand Turks were slain, and eight thousand Christians, with the flower of the Hungarian nobility. Hunniades made his escape into Servia, and from thence returned into Hungary. In the mean time John Palæologus, the Greek emperor, fearing the victorious sultan should turn his arms against him, sent ambassadors to Adrianople, where Amurath resided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The sultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to Constantinople, unless the emperor surrendered some fortifications which he still possessed on the Euxine Sea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers. To these shameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to submit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the Roman empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country.

The emperor submits to pay a yearly tribute to the sultan.

However, as he did not doubt but Amurath, when he had terminated the war in which he was then engaged with George Castrion, surnamed Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, would, under different pretences, attempt Constantinople itself, he applied to the western princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cause, he promised to endeavour to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at Ferrara, he went thither in person, attended by Joseph the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the Greek nobility, who were received at Venice, where they landed, and afterwards at Ferrara, with great pomp and magnificence. From Ferrara the council was removed soon after, on account of a plague which broke out, to Florence, where the union was effected between the two churches, and subscribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died soon after at Florence; but the emperor and the other prelates returning by land at the pope's charge to Venice, were conveyed from thence in the gallies of the republic to Constantinople. Upon his return, he found the people highly dissatisfied with his conduct, and that of the bishops, some of whom had refused to subscribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid for which they had agreed to sign them. The disturbances which this union raised in the church, the death of the empress Despina, and the insupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the sultan, gave him such concern, that, being already broken with age, he sunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-seventh

Union of the Greek and Latin churches.

Yr. of Fl. 3797.
U.C. 1448.
A.D. 1497.

John, the emperor, dies.

The Constantinopolitan History.

*Constantine Palaeologus, and
Mohammed II.* of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Constantinople, to his brother Constantine².

Amurath, the Turkish sultan, did not long survive him; but dying in the beginning of February, 1450, was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who had no sooner taken possession of the throne than he commanded all his brothers to be strangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is said to have been the son of a concubine) to marry a slave named Isaac. In the beginning of his reign he entered into an alliance with Constantine the Greek emperor, who, upon intelligence of his father's death, had sent to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne. The ambassadors were received very graciously, the new sultan declaring, that he had nothing so much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other Christian princes. The deputies of the Walachians, Lesbians, Bulgarians, Rhodians, and Servians, were likewise received in a most obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the accession of Mohammed to the throne, whom they considered as a friend to the Christians, and the more because his mother was of that religion, being, according to the most credible writers, the despot or prince of Serbia's daughter. But notwithstanding the friendship and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no sooner concluded the war with Ibrahim king of Caramania, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in Asia, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of Constantinople, and abolishing the very name of the Roman empire. With this view he built on the Europe side of the Bosphorus a strong castle, called by the Turks Genichicar, and by the Greeks Neocastrum, opposite to another in Asia called Apsocastron, which he caused to be repaired, placing in both strong garrisons. These two castles commanded the straits, and the former, being but five miles from Constantinople, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it constantly blocked up.

Mohammed had no sooner begun the work than the emperor, and the citizens of Constantinople, alarmed at the undertaking, dispatched ambassadors to the sultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him from his design. Mohammed was so far from granting their request, that though the emperor even offered to pay an annual tribute, provided he would discontinue the work, he threatened, with the utmost arrogance, to cause all who

*He builds
a fort on
the Bosphorus.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

should be sent to him upon the like errand to be ~~laid~~ ^{given}. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to Constantine, and that he had an unquestionable right to build castles and forts in his own dominions. When the fort in the neighbourhood of Constantinople was finished, the garrison, left there by the sultan, began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excursions to the very gates, returned loaded with booty. These insults occasioned several skirmishes between the Christians and Turks; in one of which a considerable number of the latter being killed, the sultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to attack the Christians while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them to the sword. The emperor, upon this provocation, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, ordered all the Turks within the walls to be arrested, but released them the next day, sending, at the same time, ambassadors to Mohammed, with proposals for concluding a lasting peace between the two crowns.

As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, Constantine, apprised of his design, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with plenty of all sorts of provisions; then, by an embassy to the western princes, he acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city; the taking of which might prove fatal to all Christendom. That they might the more readily assist him at so critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope's legate; a circumstance which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least assistance from the Latins in the West, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they considered as the bulwark of Christendom, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the Christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the most distant kingdoms. While Constantine was soliciting assistance from the western princes, Caracis, one of Mohammed's chief commanders, reduced several places on the Euxine Sea, which were still held by the emperor, namely, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bithynia; then, advancing towards the city, took by assault a strong castle called St. Stephen's tower, and put the garrison to the sword. Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the

*Constantine
has re-
cours'd in
vain to the
Christian
princes.*

*All the
forts in the
neighbour-
hood of
Constan-
tine take
by the
Turks.*

The Constantinopolitan History.

approach of the enemy ; but Selymbria held out for some time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution ; but being weakened by repeated assaults, the town was taken, and the inhabitants to a man cut in pieces. All the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, Caracia was ordered to scour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions ; by which means the city was blocked up by land : but as the Greeks were still masters at sea, their gallies ravaged the coasts of Asia, and returned with immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were sold for slaves at Constantinople*.

In the mean time Mohammed, having collected from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left Adrianople, and directing his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the sixth of April, 1453, covering, with his numerous forces, the adjoining plains. His Asiatic troops were posted on the right towards the Bosporus ; those of Europe on the left towards the haven ; and he himself, with fifteen thousand janizaries, and other chosen troops, between both, opposite the gate named Karsias. On the other side the haven, Zoganus, one of his chief officers, encamped with a considerable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that side. At the same time Pantologes, the Turkish admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred sail ; but the emperor had taken care to secure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty of a smaller size, and a great number of gallies, by means of a chain drawn across the entrance from the city to Pera. Mohamimed having thus assigned to each part of his army their several quarters, and surrounded the city both by sea and land, began the siege by planting batteries as near the place as he could, and raising mounts in several places as high as the walls themselves ; whence the besieged were incessantly galled by showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious size, which carried, according to Ducas, a ball of a hundred pounds weight, made of hard black stone brought from the Euxine sea. It had been cast by an Hungarian engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had deserted to Mohammed, while he was employed in building the above mentioned fort. With this vast piece the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which however were with great expedition re-

Yr. of Fl.
3802.
A.D. 1453.
U.C. 1202.

Constanti-
nople be-
sieged.
Disposition
of the
Turkish
Army.

The Constantinopolitan History.

paired by the besieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and resolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by John Justiniani, a Genoese adventurer, who arriving with two large ships, and a considerable number of volunteers on board, had been by the emperor, for his extraordinary skill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces: he was besides, for his farther encouragement, promised the sovereignty of the island of Lesbos, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of so great a reward, performed exploits, says our historian, worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not satisfied with repulsing the enemy in their frequent assaults, he often sallied out against them at the head of his volunteers, overturned their machines, destroyed their works, and made such a dreadful havock of their best troops, that his name soon became terrible.

*John Justiniani
commander in chief of the emperor's forces.*

But Mohammed, to carry on the siege with more vigour, ordered new levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions; which reinforcements arriving daily, his army was soon increased to the number of near four hundred thousand men, while the garrison consisted only of nine thousand regular troops, composed of six thousand Greeks and three thousand Genoese and Venetians. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day without intermission, great part of them, with the tower called Baclatina, near the Roman gate, was beaten down; but while the Turks were filling up the ditch, in order to give the assault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This circumstance threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expressed, which was greatly heightened when he beheld from the shore his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which belonged to the Genoese of Galata, and one to the emperor: the latter was laden with corn from Peloponnesus, and the others with all manner of provisions from the island of Chios, where they had passed the winter. When they first appeared, Mohammed ordered his admiral to take them, or at least to prevent their entering the harbour. In consequence of this order, the whole Turkish navy weighing anchor, sailed out to meet them, covering the straits, as they were in all three hundred sail, from shore to shore. The ships pursued their course; and, sailing into the midst of the enemy's fleet, sunk some of their gallies, disabled others, and made such a dreadful havock among them, that Mohammed could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea, as if he intended to swim to his fleet, and encourage them with his presence; but being soon apprised of the danger, he turned

Mohammed's army reinforced.

*The Turk.
worsted by
five ships
of the
Christians*

The Constantinopolitan History.

Sack, and uttering dreadful curses, he tore his hair, and upbraided his men with cowardice. Notwithstanding his impotent rage, and the loud shouts of the whole Turkish army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ships forced a way through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and, to the inexpressible joy of the Christians, got safe into the harbour.

The Turks attempted several times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that side; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, Mohammed formed, and, to the great terror and amazement of the besieged, put in execution, one of the boldest designs we find mentioned in history: for not being able to remove the chain drawn across the entrance of the harbour, and the ships within it keeping up a dreadful fire on the Turkish fleet as often as they approached, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the Bosphorus behind Pera to the haven of Constantinople; and then, by means of engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed eighty gallies over land for the space of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no sooner master, the ships riding there being either taken or sunk, than he caused a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of Zaganus at Pera to the walls of Constantinople, the city was open to an assault on that side also. The place being invested, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all sides, the emperor, convinced he could not with his small garrison hold out much longer against such a powerful fleet, and so numerous an army, sent deputies to Mohammed, offering to acknowlege himself his vassal, by paying yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege and withdrew. The tyrant answered, that he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up instantly, he would yield Peloponnesus, and other provinces to his brothers, which they should peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies; whereas, if he defended the place to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the sword, abandon the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and carry all the inhabitants into captivity.

The city was already reduced to great distress; but the emperor being determined to perish rather than surrender it upon any terms whatever, the siege was pursued with great vigour till the twenty-fifth of May, when a report being

spread in the Turkish camp, that a formidable army was advancing to the relief of the city, under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common soldiers, seized with a panic, began to mutiny, and press Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to raise the siege ; they even openly threatened him with death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succours. Mohammed, though hitherto an utter stranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incensed and ungovernable soldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the storm, and raising the siege, agreeably to the advice of the grand vizier Haly, who privately favoured the Christians ; but Zagan, a Turkish officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the Christian name, having confirmed the sultan in his former resolution, advised him to give, without loss of time, a general assault ; to which, he said, the soldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided he solemnly promised to abandon the city to pillage. As this advice best suited the temper of Mohammed, he immediately embraced it, and caused a proclamation to be published throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his soldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his share but the empty houses.

The desire of plunder, and the prospect of immense booty, soon got the better of the fear which had seized the army : they all demanded to be led immediately to the assault. The emperor was summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of his life and liberty. To this summons he resolutely answered, that he was unalterably determined either to maintain the city, or fall with it. On the evening of the same day, which was Trinity Sunday, the twenty-seventh of May, the Turkish camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights, set up by the sultan's orders on every tent and vessel, to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be observed the next, to implore the protection of Heaven. Constantine, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed by his friend Haly, that on the Tuesday following he should be attacked by sea and land, made the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault, his life, liberty, and reputation lying at stake. He ordered in the first place a general procession, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent speech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themselves in the defence of the empire and the Christian religion. He then retired to the church of St. Sophia, attended by cardinal Jidore, and several other prelates, who had conformed

*A mutiny
in the Tur-
kish camp.*

*Mohammed
prepares
for a gene-
ral assault.*

*Constantine
makes the
necessary
prepara-
tions for
sustaining
the assault.*

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to the ceremonies of the Latins ; and there, after assisting with exemplary piety at divine service, he received the holy eucharist.

From the church Constantine repaired to the great palace, and, after taking leave of his ministers, as if he were never to see them again, he ordered every man to his post, and, putting on his armour, marched in person at the head of a chosen body to the gate Karfia, where a considerable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance which we have mentioned before. Here the emperor, and Justiniani his lieutenant-general, with three hundred Genoese, and a select body of Greeks, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noise in the Turkish camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun, by such troops as the sultan least valued, and therefore designing them for slaughter, had ordered them to march first with no other view but to tire the Christians, who, though few in number, made a dreadful havock of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted some hours, the janizaries, and other veteran troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigour and fury.

The Christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy, but at length being entirely exhausted, and fresh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to stand their ground ; so that the enemy in several places broke into the city. In the mean time, Justiniani having received two wounds, one in the thigh, and the other in the hand, he was so intimidated at the sight of his blood, that, abandoning his post, he took refuge in Galata, where he died soon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The Genoese and Greeks, dismayed at the sudden retreat of their general, quitted their posts, and fled in the utmost confusion. However, the emperor, attended by Theophilus Palæologus, Francis Comnenus, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, John of Dalmatia, and a few more of the most resolute among the nobility, still kept his post, striving with an unparalleled courage and intrepidity to oppose the inundation of the Barbarians, who, like a violent storm, now rushed in on all sides. Being at length overpowered with numbers, and seeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, " What ! (he cried aloud,) is there no Christian left alive to strike off my head ?" He had scarce uttered these words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut cross the face with his sabre : at the same time another coming behind, with a blow on the back

back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and tenth of his reign, Constantine XV. courageously defending that city which Constantine I. had founded.

The emperor being slain, the few Christians, who were left alive, immediately fled in a precipitate manner, and the Turks, meeting with no farther opposition, entered the city, and scouring the streets, filled that once stately metropolis with blood and devastation. They gave no quarter, but put all they met with to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition : but of the unspeakable miseries the inhabitants suffered, during the three days which Mohammed had allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in Ducas, and other contemporary writers. Many thousands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, but they were all massacred without pity in their asylum by the enraged Barbarians, who, excited by their natural cruelty, the desire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared no place nor person. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, found means to make their escape, while the Turks were plundering the city. These embarking in five ships then in the harbour, arrived safe in Italy, where, with the study of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the West. When the three days were expired, Mohammed commanded his soldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all farther hostilities, and then put a period to the most cruel pillage and massacre recorded in history. Next day he made his public and triumphal entry into the city ; and choosing it for the seat of his empire, he solemnly promised to take under his protection such of the inhabitants as should continue it ; or, being fled, should return to their ancient habitations, and even allow them the free exercise of the Christian religion. The death of the last Roman emperor, the loss of Constantinople, and the final dissolution of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of May in the year of the Greeks, 6961, of the Hegira, 857, and of the Christian era, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

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Yr. of Pl.
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C. H. A. P. LXXII.

The History of the Carthaginians, & the Destruction of Carthage by the Romans.

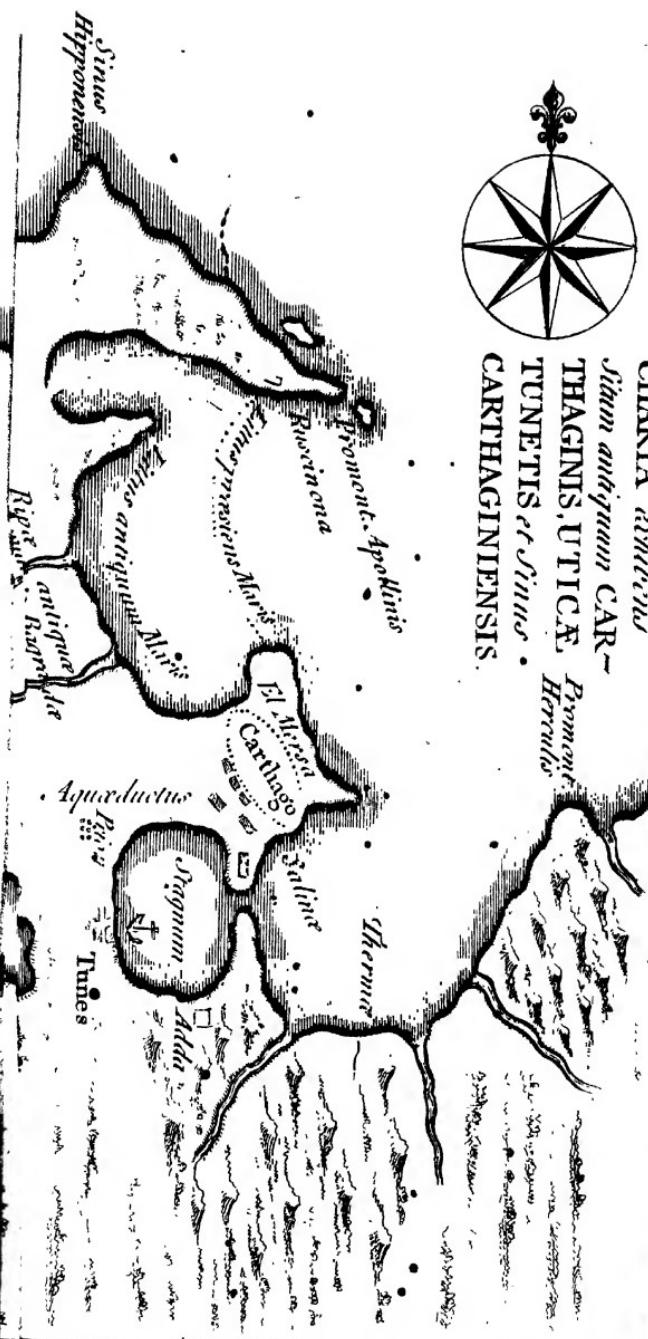
S E C T. I.

Description of Carthage, with some Account of the Origin of the City.

CARTHAGE, the metropolis of Africa Propria for several centuries past, according to Varro, was built sixty-five years before Rome; though; Probus and Justin suppose it to be twenty-two years older than that metropolis of the world. Davy seems to place its foundation twenty years higher than these, and Solinus exceeds him twenty-seven years. Timaeus of Sicily intimates, that Carthage and Rome were founded at the same time, namely, thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad. Lastly, from Metellus the Ephesian, as cited by Josephus, and the Tyrian annals, it appears to have preceded the Roman era a hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but it may not be improper to observe, that Carthage consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, we are not to be surprised that the ancients should have transmitted to posterity various accounts of the commencement of the Carthaginian power. It is not very material to our present purpose, whether we can determine the precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we shall not be very solicitous about it. However, our curious readers may consult Petavius, who has been very particular on this subject. That learned man, after examining the contradictory opinions of the ancients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes; and at last, fixes the Carthaginian era with an appearance of exactness: for, according to him, Dido began to build Carthage a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome, if, with Varro, we place her in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, or a hundred and four, two, if, with archbishop Usher, we prefer the account of Fabius Pictor, who maintains it to be near the be-

CHARTA *whilis*
Suum antiquum CAR-

THAGINIS, UTICÆ, *Promont.*
TUNETIS *et* *Sinus.* *Herrulis*
CARTHAGINENSIS.



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gioning of the eighth (Z). And that this appears very near the truth, sufficiently appears from what has been already observed.

But whatever disagreement may be found amongst historians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation of Carthage, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the Phoenicians were its founders. Eusebius ^e and Procopius are positive, that the Canaanites who fled from Joshua retired hither; and St. Austin ^f would have it believed, that the Carthaginians were descended from these Canaanites. Philistus ^g of Syracuse, a writer of authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Christ, relates, that the first traces of Carthage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phoenicians, thirty years before the destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius. Appian ^h, who undoubtedly received his notion from Philistus, attributes this event to Zorus and Charchedon, two Phoenicians, fifty years before that period; and from him Scaliger ⁱ corrects Eusebius's numbers. What likewise renders the account of Philistus and Appian not a little probable, is, that the Greeks always called Carthage, Charchedon; for which no reason so proper can be assigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground was known by that name. Besides, something must have determined Dido to choose this particular place for her Tyrians before any other. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for some time by the Phoenicians, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore she had reason to expect the kindest and most friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coast of Africa, and the coast of Spain opposite to it, were known in very early ages to the Tyrians; for it has been remarked by Velleius ^k, that they built the cities of Cadiz in Spain, and Utica in Africa, a

^e Euseb. in Chron. lib. i. p. 11. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 10. ^f August. in Exposit. Epist. ad Rom. sub. init. ^g Philist. Syracusan. apud Euseb. in Chron. ad Ann. 804. ^h Appian. in Libyc. sub. init. ⁱ Jos. Scalig. Animadvers. in Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. 804. ^j Vell. Paterc. lib. i. cap. 8.

(Z) Fabius Pictor was the most ancient of the Roman historians (1), and a writer of very great authority. He is followed herein by Onuphrius Panvinius (2), as well as archbishop Usher.

(1) Liv. lib. i. ii. &c. Dio Hal. lib. i. Usser. An. p. 60. ad Ann. Jul. Per. 3966. Voss. de Hist. Graec. lib. iv. cap. 13, &c. (2) Onuph. Panvin. Antiq. Urb. Imag. apud Geyrum in Thebae. Ant. Rom. tom. iii. p. 335. Petay. de Doct. Temp. lib. vi. cap. 31.

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little more than eighty years after the Trojan war; and Strabo declares, that the Phœnicians were possessed of the best parts of Spain and Africa, a considerable time before the age of Homer. So that both those authors strongly support the first Phœnician settlement mentioned by Philistus and Appian.

If either founded or enlarged the city of Carthage.

However, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening before the destruction of Troy, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that Elisa¹, or Dido, sister of Pygmalion king of Tyre, flying with her brother Barca, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from Tyre, fixed her residence at Carthage, and either founded, or much enlarged, this noble city. The wealth of her husband Sichæus, and the Tyrians she brought with her, who, at that time, were the^m most polished and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the Tyrian nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which Aristotle seemed to think one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world. Dido's arrival in Africa was a hundred and thirty-seven years before the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account; a hundred and forty-two, according to Fabius Pictor; a hundred and fourteen before the first Olympiad; eight hundred and ninety-two before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of Troy; unless, with Sir Isaac Newton, we suppose the ancient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years.

Name whence derived.

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not agreed. Nothing can be more forced and unnatural than the conjectures of different etymologists on this subject. Serviusⁿ seems to come nearest the truth, when he says, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation. And this town is called by Cedrenus^o Chartica, or Chartaca, that is, Charta^p

¹ Iust. lib. xviii. Virgil. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Chron. p. 13. Boch. Phal. & de Col. Phœn. passim.

^m Newt.

in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. iv. ver. 75.

ⁿ Serv.

Compend. p. 140 Edit. Par. 1647^r

^o Cedren. Hist.

Strab. lib. xvi. p. 542. Diod. Sic. lib. xix. cap. 93. Corn. Nep. Da-

^p Schind. Pentaglot. p. 1313.

lam. cap. 5. Plin. lib. v. cap. 19^a. Steph. Byz. de Utb. Hieronym.

In Am. i. 14. & LXX. in Jud. i.

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Aca, or Charta Aco, the city of Aca, or Aco, a celebrated sea-port of Phoenice, near Tyre and Sidon, in the territory of the tribe of Asher⁹, though possessed by the Tyrians or Phoenicians. Though Dido's city was called by the Latin writers Carthago, yet its true name amongst the ancient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themselves, was Cataco, as is evident from the Columna Rostrata of Duilius.

The Carthaginians were called by the Greeks, sometimes Libyans, on account of the country they possessed; and sometimes Phoenicians, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The Romans also styled them Poeni, or Phoenicians, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, Punic or Poenic, that is Phoenician, or belonging to the Phoenicians.

We must not omit observing that, according to Stephanus and Eustathius, this city was anciently named, in Punic, Caccabe, from a horse's head, which was found by the Tyrians, when they were digging for the foundations of Býrla. This was considered as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in Virgil¹⁰ and Justin, and to these authors we refer them.¹¹ In the mean time we shall only remark, that the learned Bochart¹² has shewn the word Caccabe to have signified, in the Phoenician language, the head of the animal above mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the Carthaginians¹³ had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse entire, with Victory mounted upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a Punic inscription upon those reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from Agostini, Parura, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

In order to avoid digressions on this head, we shall give a succinct account of the situation, dimensions, different parts, and power of the city of Carthage, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third Punic war, extracted from Polybius, Strabo, Diodorus, Appian, and other ancient authors of the best reputation and authority.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulph, upon a peninsula three hundred and sixty stadia, or forty-five miles, in

*Caccabe the
Punic name
of Car-
thage.*

*Description
of Car-
thage.*

⁹ Jud. ver. 31. ¹⁰ Virg. En. i. Just. lib. xviii. Serv. & Ludovic. de la Cerda in En. i. Coel. Rhodigin. lib. xviii. cap. 38. ¹¹ Bochart. de Col. Phoen. lib. i. cap. 24. ¹² Ant. August. Dial. vi. ant.

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circumference, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the continent of Africa being twenty-five stadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the west side, a long tract of land, half a stadium broad, projected from it, which running into the sea, separated it from a lake or morass, and was strongly fortified on all sides by rocks, and a single wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrsa, containing a temple sacred to Æsculapius, seated on a very high hill, to which the ascent was by sixty steps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a considerable extent; so that when Byrsa was taken by Scipio towards the close of the last siege of Carthage, nine hundred Roman deserters fortified themselves in this place. At last Asdrubal's wife setting fire to it, entirely consumed it, together with herself, her children, and the nine hundred deserters, to avoid falling into the hands of Scipio. On the south side, towards the continent, where Byrsa stood, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked at equal distances, each interval being eighty fathoms, or four hundred and eighty feet. Every tower had its foundation sunk thirty feet deep, and was four stories high, though the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, corresponding in depth with the foundations above mentioned, were stalls, large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder; over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the first building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the sea towards the western continent, and extending as far as the harbours, which were on the same side. Of these there were two, disposed in such a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and one common entrance, seventy feet broad, secured with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included a great number of places of refreshment, and all kinds of accommodations for the seamen. The second, or inner port, was, as well as the island, called Cothon, in the midst of it, lined with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty vessels, it being designed chiefly for ships of war. Over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein were lodged necessaries for arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with

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two marble pillars of the Ionic order ; so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. Upon the island was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations issued ; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one there could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour ; and the merchants themselves, when they entered the port, had no prospect of the men of war, being separated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other.

Hence it is apparent, that the city consisted of three parts, Byrsa, Megara or Magaria, and Cothon. Byrsa, according to Servius^u, was twenty-two stadia, or near three English miles, in circumference ; though Eutropius maintains it did not much exceed two thousand paces, which is not quite two English miles. It was not so precisely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the south, or isthmus that joined Carthage to the continent, as is observed by Appian. The word *Byrsa* is only a Greek corruption of the true Punic or Phœnician name *Buſra*, *Boſra*, or *Boſtra* (for it may be pronounced all these ways), that is, a *fortress* or *citadel*, as has been demonstrated by Scaliger^v, Bochart, and others, versed in the Oriental languages; and may be inferred from Strabo, Virgil, and Appian, the fable of the ox's hide having long since been exploded by the learned. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, surrounded by the *Megara*, or *Magaria*, that is, the *houses* or *towns* (for that the word imports in the Phœnician tongue), its exterior part, according to Servius ; so that together they formed a kind of double town. Strabo calls the small island in the midst of the second harbour, Cothon^x ; though Appian applies this name likewise to that port or harbour itself, which, if this writer may be credited, was surrounded by a strong wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word *Cothon* is of Oriental extraction, and signifies a *port*, not formed by nature, but the effect of labour and art, so that this seems to have been not a proper, but a common name amongst the Carthaginians, who undoubtedly pronounced it *Kathum*, or *Kathom*. The Carthaginians were so extremely active and indefatigable, that when Scipio^y had blocked up the old port, or

Of how
many parts
the city
consisted.

^u Serv. in Aen. i. ver. 320. ^v Scalig. in Not. ad Fest. Salmas. in Solin. &c. ^x Scrab. lib. xvii. p. 372. ^y Appian. in Libye. p. 129, &c. ^z Liv. lib. 5. cap. 1.

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CARTHAGE, they, in a very short time, built a new haven, the traces of which, scarce a hundred yards square, are still to be seen ¹.

The number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third Punic war, amounted to seven hundred thousand. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by sea, when they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable. The army commanded by Hamilcar, in his expedition against Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, consisted of three hundred thousand men; and the fleet, co-operating with the land forces, was composed of more than two thousand ships of war, and above three thousand transports. Their riches were likewise immense, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the final destruction of the town, after it had been plundered, and supposed to be entirely exhausted and consumed, namely, near a million and a half sterling.

The extent of Carthage. As to the extent of the city, Livy informs us, that it was twenty-three miles round. Pliny ² intimates, that Carthage, taken in the hands of the Phoenicians, was much larger than when it was a Roman colony; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful city in the world. The dominion of the sea, which it enjoyed for six hundred years, almost without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a most prodigious manner. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our description of Carthage, it may not be improper to take notice of, namely, the temple of Apollo ³, standing near the Cethon, wherein was a statue of that deity of massive gold, and the inside of the temple was covered with plates of the same metal, weighing a thousand talents.

Carthage was built upon three hills, somewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which Rome was erected ⁴. All the remains of this once famous city are the area of a spacious room upon one of those hills, commanding the south-east shore, with several smaller ones at a little distance from it; the common sewers, which time hath not in the least injured or impaired; and the cisterns, which have very little submitted to the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now stopped up, and, by the north-east winds, with the Mejerda (A), moved almost as far distant from the sea as

(A) This river, called by the ancients the Bagrada, will be mentioned.

* Shaw's Geographical Observations relating to the Kingdom of Tripoli, p. 150, 151. ^b Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. ^c Appian, ubi supra.

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Utica, though it is still called El Mersa, or the Port, lying to the north and north-west of the city, and forms, with the lake of Tunis, the peninsula on which Carthage stood.

Strabo ^a observes, that the Carthaginians possessed three hundred cities in Africa before the beginning of the third Punic war; a circumstance which may easily be believed, if we consider, that the dominions of this state in Africa, before that war, extended from the western confines of Cyrenaica ^b to the pillars of Hercules, or Straights of Gibraltar (B), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was in the zenith of its power, the greatest part of Spain, even as far as the Pyrenees, of Sicily, and all the islands in the Mediterranean, to the west of this latter, were subject to it. How it came to make such large acquisitions, and by what steps it grew so formidable, as to dispute the empire of the world with Rome itself, will appear in the sequel of this history.

S E C T. II.

A Description of Africa Propria, or the Territory of Carthage.

MELA and Ptolemy affirm ^c, that Africa Propria contained all the countries situated between the river Ampsaga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which Pliny tells us were inhabited by twenty-six different nations ^d. But this description gives it too great an extent, making it include Numidia, and the Regio Syrtica, which are countries distinct from the proper territory of Carthage. Its true limits seem to have been the river Tusca on the west ^e, or side of Numidia; the Mediterranean or African sea on the north; the frontiers of the Garamantes and deserts of Libya Interior on the south; and the Mediterranean, with the Lesser Syr-

Africa Propria.

Its limits.

^a Strab. lib. xvii. ^f Scylax Caryand. Vide & Bochart. ubi supra, et seq. ^g Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 7. Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 3. ^h Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. ⁱ Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(B) The distance between the Pillars of Hercules, according to Polybius (1), was sixteen thousand stadia, or two thousand miles. But from Dr. Shaw's observa-

tions, it appears to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, sixty of which make a degree of a great circle.

(1) Polyb. lib. iii.

to the sea. It was divided into two provinces¹, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium, with which the kingdom of Tunis², under its division into the summer and winter circuits, at present nearly corresponds. Byzacium, or at least the sea-coast of that province, seems to be the Emporia of Livy and Polybius.

Prolemy has placed Carthage, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too southerly. If we admit the position of Africa Propria to have been nearly the same with that of the kingdom of Tunis, it must have taken up almost four degrees of north latitude; from 33 degrees 30 minutes north, to 37 degrees 12 minutes north, and of longitude above three degrees, since Sbekkah, the most advanced city of the kingdom of Tunis to the westward, is in eight degrees, and Cybea, the farthest to the east, in 11 degrees 20 minutes east longitude from London. The spot of ground on which Carthage stood is, according to the latest observations, about 10 degrees 40 minutes east of London, and in north latitude 36 degrees 40 minutes.

Zeugitana, or the Regio Zeugitana, was separated from Numidia by the river Tusca, and extended to Adrumetum, which Pliny makes the first city of Byzacium. The summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis, including the fruitful country about Keff and Bai-jah, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginensis of Strabo, and the Africa Propria of Pliny and Solinus. We shall not pretend to give a minute and particular description of all the cities it contained, as being inconsistent with our present design; but only touch upon some of the principal, which have been the most noticed by those writers who have treated of the Roman and Carthaginian affairs.

The first place in Zeugitana, worthy regard, since Carthage has been already described, is Utica. In rank and dignity this city was next to Carthage, and even superior to it in point of antiquity. Aristotle says it was built according to the Phenician historians, two hundred and eighty-seven years before Carthage. Velleius records³, that the Tyrians founded it about eighty years after the destruction of Troy. Justin intimates⁴, that the Tyrians were settled there a considerable time before Plato came into Africa; and that this settlement commenced upon their first arrival in that country: with these two last authors Melch and

¹ Strab. lib. 11. ² Shaw's Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1, 1. ³ Vell. Patet. lib. i. supr.

Stephanus agrees'. The gulf, on which both Utica and Carthage stood, was formed by the two promontories of Mercury and Apollo, under the last of which Utica was seated. Appian says it was sixty stadia, or seven miles and a half to the westward of Carthage; but according to the Itinerary, these cities were twenty-seven Roman miles distant from each other^a. Utica had a large and convenient harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the Roman history, but on none more than the death of the younger Cato, who was from thence called Cato Uticensis, or Cato of Utica. After Carthage was raised by the Romans, Utica was indulged with a grant of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was for a considerable time the metropolis of Africa. Shaw supposes this place to have stood where Boo-shatter does at present; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence still visible there, and the distance from Carthage, perfectly agreeing with that of the Itinerary, besides other circumstances, authorising such a supposition.

The next town in the neighbourhood of ~~Carthage~~, but in ~~Tunis~~, a contrary direction to the former, was Tunes or Tunica, the Tunis of the moderns. This town was undoubtedly of great antiquity, having been particularly described by Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and others; and that it was of Phœnician original; the name itself sufficiently implies; for we find in that part of the Lower Egypt, almost contiguous to the borders of 'Arabia Petraea and Phœnicia, a town called Tanes, from whence the Tanitic name and Tanitic mouth of the Nile took their name. And it is well known, that this part of Egypt was possessed by the Phœnicians, either in the time of Joshua, or much earlier; and that the Phœnicians afterwards settled in Africa Propria, Numidia, and Mauritania. In confirmation of which opinion, we find a river in Numidia, not far from the Ampsaga, called Tanas; from whence we may infer, since nothing is more common in the Oriental languages than a permutation of vowels, that Tunes is a Phœnician name, and that the city itself is of Phœnician extraction. That it was a town of some consequence in very early ages, is evident from Livy's Diodorus, and Strabo, who tell us, that there was a hot

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the famous quarry, not far from it; as also that it was bounded both by nature and art; and surrounded with a wall. It was seated near the mouth of the river Catada, fifteen Roman miles east of Carthage. The city is more famous now than it was even amongst the ancients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situated upon a rising ground, along the western banks of the lake, which bears the same name¹, and in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of the Gulett, Carthage, and the island Zowa-moore. Tunis some time past was remarkable for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themselves wholly to trade, and are now become the most civilized and polite people in Barbary.

Maxula, or according to Ptolemy, Mazula², was an ancient town of the state of Carthage, and, if Pliny may be credited³, pretty near that city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of Apollo and Utica. This town was probably built by the Phoenicians. It stood on the eastern side of the Catada; now the Miliata; and if Mo-raisah, two leagues to the North-east of Solyman, be, according to Shaw's conjecture, the Maxula, or Mazula, of the ancients, Maxula was about eight leagues, or twenty-four English miles, south-east of Tunis.

Carpis, a city of this district, was placed by Ptolemy one third of a degree more northerly than Carthage. Pliny calls it Carpi. Shaw⁴ supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which Gurbos, or Hammam Gurbos, at present stands upon⁵; and that the hot-bath near it is the Aquæ Calide of Livy. Though the position Ptolemy affirms his Carpis does not agree with that of the modern Gurbos, this last lying above a degree more southerly than Carthage, yet we doubt not but the modern traveller is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Misua, or Nisua, a town mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, stood between Carpis and Clypea. The ruins of this place are still to be seen, at the sanctuary of Seedy Doud, in the kingdom of Tunis, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of Hercules.

The next place that occurs is the Aquilaria of Caesar⁶, where Curio landed his troops from Sicily. Caesar tells us, it was a convenient station in the summer season, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in

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all probability, that of Mercury (called by the Moors the Rai-adder, and by the Franks Cape Bon) was one; since this is about a league to the northward of Lowah-reah, supposed to be the ancient Aquilaria. Many fragments of antiquities are still extant in this place, but amongst them nothing remarkable.

Clypea^b was situated upon the small promontory Taphitis, five leagues south-east of the promontory of Mercury, which being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave rise to the name. It is called by Livy, Mela, and Pliny, Clupea; by Polybius, Appian, and Agathemerus, Aspis; but by Solinus, and the Itinerary, Clypea. A mile distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clybea. Ptolemy is guilty of a great mistake, when he makes Aspis and Clypea two different cities.

Curubis, Curobis, or Curabis, was a town, according to ^cCurabis, the Itinerary, thirty-two Roman miles distant from the former; but according to the more accurate observations of the moderns, seven leagues, or twenty-one miles, south-west-and-by-west of it. It is styled by Pliny the free city Cūrūbis, and appears to have been a considerable place in former times, though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the cisterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boast of at present, if the modern Gurba answers to it, as both the name and situation sufficiently intimate.

Canthele, a Phoenician city, not far from Curubis, according to Hecataeus^c. This town received its appellation from the Pagan deity Saturn; since, according to Sanchoniatho^d and Damascius, the word *el* in the Phoenician tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which it is observed by Ponticus, in his life of St. Cyprian, that there was a town in that place called by the Romans *Vetus Saturni*, the *old town of Saturn*. This was not a place of any consideration, at least so low as the classic times, so that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity.

Neapolis, a famous and ancient emporium of the Carthaginians, was seated in the south-east part of Zeugitana, five leagues to the north-east of Curubis. Thucydides^e says, that the passage from hence to Sicily was very short, as being performed in two days and a night. Scylax places it not far from the lesser Syrtis, and about a day and a half's jour-

^a Shaw, ubi sup. p. 158.

^b Strab. lib. xviii. p. 573.

^c He-

cataeus Perseget apud Steph. de Virg.

Sanchoniatho apud Steph. apud Steph. de Virg.

Steph. apud Steph. de Virg.

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near from the promontory of Mercury. Nabal, a thriving and industrious modern town, stands a furlong to the westward of the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city. Pliny styles this place, as well as Curubis, a free city. Here is a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six feet in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or so filled with rubbish and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. Strabo and Hirtius agree with Scylax in fixing it near the promontory of Mercury. Nabal stands upon the Gulph of Hamam-et in north lat. 36 degrees 8 minutes, two leagues from a little opulent town of the same name.

Nepheris. To these may be added Nepheris, a fortrefs to the eastward of Carthage. It was a place of consequence, being built upon a rock, and strongly fenced by nature on all sides. Adrubar, with his whole army, was cut off near it by Scipio, who, after a siege of twenty-two days, reduced the town; and this reduction greatly contributed to the conquest of Carthage.

Hippo. The only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is Hippo, towards the north-west borders of it, a sort of frontier-town on the side of Numidia. From the navigable lake Hippo-nitis, on which it was buit, and which served it as a natural fortification, it was denominated Hippo Diaphytus, and Hippo Zarytus; though, from the promontory near it, the ancients sometimes gave it the denomination of Acræ, Hippuacra, and Hippagreta. Scylax calls it simply Hippo, notwithstanding it generally went by the names above mentioned in the time of Polybius, Diodorus, Pliny, and Appian; and this in order to distinguish it from Hippo Regius in Numidia. Appian^a tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repositories for naval stores. The modern name is Bizerta, which is a corruption of the Hippo Zarytus of the ancients. It is pleasantly situated upon a canal, eight miles to the south-and-by-west of cape Blanqo, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is at present about a mile in circuit, defended by several castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea. The origin of it was Phoenician, as has been fully proved by Bochart^b, who derives the name Hippo from the Syria or Phoenician *Uba* or *Uppo*, a gulph, which perfectly answers to the situation of the place. This gulph is formed by the Promontorium Cauditum and Promontorium Apollinis of the ancients, the Bas-el-apheadh and Ras Zibeb of the present Tunisians.

^a *Geograph. l. 11. cap. 14.*

^b *Appian in Libyc.*

^c *Bochart de Col.*

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As for the inland towns of Zeugitana, Uitzibira Medio-cara, Tucma, Cerbica, Sasura, Cilma, Vepillium, Vins, Valli, Cigifa, Musti, Membressa, Oilio, and others equally obscure, enumerated by Ptolemy, the Itinerary, and Peutinger's table; they were for the most part, if not entirely, modern in comparison of the Carthaginian times, and never considerable in any other. We shall therefore conclude our description of this province with observing, that there seem to be some traces of Zeugis or Zeugitana in the present name of the city of Zowan or Zagwan, a small flourishing town built upon the north-east extremity of a conspicuous mountain of the same name, in the summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis. This conjecture will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by Solinus, compared with the observations of the learned traveller¹ so often cited. The Zygantes of Herodotus seem likewise to have been placed in the neighbourhood of Zagwan, which is an additional argument in support of this notion.

Byzacium, according to Pliny², was inhabited by the Libyphoenicians, that is, by a mixture of Aborigines, or native Africans, and Carthaginians. The same author asserts, it was about two hundred and fifty Roman miles in circumference, and of such great fertility, that the earth made a return of a hundred fold. The limits of this province seem impossible to be precisely defined, because the ancients have passed over the inferior part of it, bordering upon Libya, in a very slight manner, and greatly mistaken the course, magnitude, and source of the river Triton. In general, however, it may be proper to remark, that Byzacium is supposed not to have differed much in extent, and situation from the present winter circuit of the Tuniseens. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief description of some of the principal of them will suffice.

Adrumetum, or Hadrumetum, the capital of Byzacium,^{Adrum.} was a city of great antiquity, and of considerable note in the ancient world. It had a variety of names, being called by Strabo and Stephanus, Adryme or Adrume, as also Adrymetus; by Plutarch and Ptolemy, Adrumetus or Adrumettus; by Appian, Adrymettus; and by Cæsar, Hirtius, and Pliny, Adrumetum; by Mela, Hadrumetum, or, according to Vossius, Hadrumentum; and lastly, in Peutinger's table, we find it named Hadrito. The city was large and spacious, built upon an hemispherical promontory, like Gly-

¹ Shaw ubi sup. cap. 4.

² Plini. lib. lvi. cap.

pea, at the distance of two leagues to the south-east of the morais, the boundary, as hath been supposed, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. According to the Itinerary, it was eighteen Roman miles from Leptis Minor, though Peutinger's table makes the distance greater. Adjacent to the city was a Cothon, being either a port or little island, in imitation of that of Carthage. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the present situation, was something more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins¹, seems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the Phœnicians is evident from Sallust² and others; as likewise from the name itself, which Bochart, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two Syriac or Phœnician words, importing the land or country returning an hundred-fold, i. e. of corn or grain. It is at present but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry sandy nature, and partly incommoded with morasses.

Ruspina.

Ruspina stood betwixt Adrumetum and Leptis Minor, where Cæsar encamped in his wars with Scipio³. The village of Sahaleci, above six miles from Herkla, and full a mile from the sea, has the fairest pretensions to Ruspina; since, according to Hirtius⁴, the port of Ruspina was not at a much greater distance from the town.

Leptis Minor.

Leptis Minor, one of Pliny's free cities, eighteen Roman miles from Adrumetum, was of Phœnician extraction. It had the epithet Minor commonly annexed to it, in order to distinguish it from Leptis Major, a city of the Regio Syrtica, which was built either by the Sidonians, as Sallust intimates⁵, or the Tyrians, according to Pliny⁶. Strabo and Stephanus say, that Lepethis, a city of Cyprus, was famous for its commodious station, and the same is said of Leptis Minor by Lucan. The city paid every day a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceedingly fruitful. The plate is at present called Lempta; but there is nothing left besides a small part of the castle, with a low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the Cothon.

Agar.

Agar, a town described by Hirtius, was a few miles to the westward of Leptis. This place had a rocky situation, and there is now near the spot it occupied a great quantity of stones and ruins. The village, at present taking up the spot of ground on which Agar stood, is called by the Arabs, Boo-Hadjar, i. e. the father of a stone.

¹ Shaw ubi sup. ² Sallust, in Jugurth. ³ Shaw ubi sup.
 p. 190. ⁴ Hirt. Bell. Afric. sec. 9. ⁵ Sallust, in Jugurth.
 Cap. 44. & 80. ⁶ Plin. lib. V. cap. 19.

Thapsus,

Thapsus, a maritime town of this province, was seated, according to Dio¹, upon a sort of isthmus, betwixt the sea and a lake. Peutinger's table makes it eight miles distant from Leptis to the south. The inhabitants of Thapsus were famous for their fidelity to Scipio in his wars with Cæsar. Demas, the ancient Thapsus, is situated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the east-by-south, of To-Bulba, within half a league of which is the lake mentioned by Hirtius. Here is still remaining, in defiance of time and the sea, a great part of the Cothon built in frames; the composition of small pebbles and mortar, which are so well cemented together, that a solid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of Tlemsan very much resemble the remaining part of this Cothon.

Acholla, or Acilla, seems to have been called by Appian², Acholla, Cholla. If the site Ptolemy assigns this city be allowed, Elalia, six miles to the northward of She-ah, the ancient Ruspæ, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly answers to it.

Turris Hannibalis³, the Tower of Hannibal, was a fort, tower, or country-seat, belonging to Hannibal, betwixt Thapsus and Acilla, according to Livy. To this place Hannibal fled from Carthage for fear of the Romans; and immediately upon his arrival, embarking in a vessel provided for that purpose, passed over to the island Cercina. Either El-Medea, five miles to the south of Demas, or Salecto⁴, five miles to the south-by-west of El-Medea, in all probability, occupies the space on which this fort, tower, or country-seat was erected.

Thena, or Thenæ, a town on the coast of the Lesser Syria, mentioned by Strabo⁵, is known at this time among the Tuniseens by the name Thainee. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren; without either fountain or rivulet.

Betwixt Thenæ and the mouth of the Triton, or the place Maco⁶, where it discharges itself into the sea, Ptolemy places his Macodama, with which perhaps Maha-res⁷, four leagues to the west of Thainee, corresponds. It is a village remarkable for nothing but several cisterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water.

Uzita, a town near Tisdrus and Leptis Minor, has been Uzita⁸ mentioned by Hirtius, Ptolemy, and Dio.

¹ Dio, lib. xliii. p. 245.
² xxxiii. Just. lib. xxii.
³ lib. xvii. p. 572, 574.

⁴ Appian. in Libyc.
⁵ Shaw, ubi sup. p. 192.

⁶ Liv. lib.
⁷ Strab.

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That a city of great extent, according to Sallust², was surrounded by mountains and deserts, though there were some fountains without the city. All which particulars agree with the situation of the modern Ferre-anah, in the south-west part of this province.

Twelve leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is Gafza, the Capsa of the ancients, and one of the castles of Jugurtha¹. It is built upon a rising ground, inclosed, almost in every direction, with mountains; and hath the same situation as Ferre-anah, with this difference, that the landscape, here is more gay and verdant by the prospect of the palm, olive, pistachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eastern languages the word signifies *freely environed*, and so the place is on every side by solitudes and deserts; which is a proof that it was originally Phoenician². There seem to have been two more cities of this name, the one in Numidia, the other in Libya Interior.

Suffetula, Turzo, Sarsura, Tisdra or Tisdrus, Caraga, Orbita, and other obscure towns of Byzacium, of which we know only the bare names, deserve not the least attention: we shall, therefore, conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a concise description of its most celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curiosities, and a brief enumeration of the African nations, by whom in the remotest times it was possessed.

The chief lakes of this region remarked by the ancients (besides the lake Hipponis above-mentioned, and the Palus Sifara joined to it, of no great magnitude) were the Palus Tritonis or Tritonitis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Libya; all which, according to Ptolemy, had a communication by means of the river Triton, which ran through them into the sea. But in this particular that geographer was deceived. The source of the Triton is nearer the sea than these lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the same lake, whose modern name is, the Shibkah El Lowdeah¹, or *lake of marks*, so called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their passage over it. This lake extends near twenty leagues from east to west, and is interspersed with several dry spots, which appear like islands. To the eastward, in the same meridian with Telemene, there is one, which, though uninhabited, is very large, and well stocked with date-trees. This seems to be the Cherso-

^x Sallust. in Jugurth. ^y Idem.
^z Cellar. in Geogr. Ant. p. 355, 913.

^a Vid. Bochart, ubi sup.
^b Shaw ubi sup. p. 211.

nesus of Diodorus^b, and the Phla of Herodotus^c, and the date-trees in it, according to a tradition of the Arabs, sprung originally from the stones of those dates which the Egyptians brought with them for provisions, many ages since, when they invaded this part of Africa. Scylax makes the lake to have been in his time about a thousand stadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the best modern description we find given of it.

The most famous river of Africa Propria was the Bagrada^d, Bagadras, or Bragada, for it went by all those names. On the banks of this river, Regulus, in the first Punic war, by means of his battering engines, killed a serpent^e of a monstrous size. Ptolemy^f derives the Bagrada from mount Mampsarus, where he fixes its source, making it bend its course almost directly from north to south; and in this he is followed by the late geographers. But this is a mistake^g, its stream flowing in a direction almost from west to east. At present it is called the Me-jerdah, whose first and most distant branches are the Hameele and Myki-anah, in the district of the Hen-neisha; which, with the concurrent streams of the Wed el Boule, Scilliana, and some other rivulets of the Frig-eah, render it as large as the Isis and Cherwell united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes of the same complexion with the Nile, and appears to have no less the property of making encroachments upon the sea. Utica stood upon the western bank of the Bagrada, and Carthage on the other side, but at some distance from it.

The Catada of Ptolemy, now the Miliana, is remarkable for nothing but having Tuuis seated upon the mouth of it; nor the Triton, now the Gabbs, but on account of the lake of the same name already described. However, it may not be improper to observe, that it has its source^h only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of Gabbs, and becomes at once a considerable stream, nearly as big as the Cherwell.

Among the principal curiosities of this country are to be ranked the Hammam Leef, a hot bath, very much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis; the hot bath, with some ruins, at the creek of Gurbos, the Aquæ Calidæ of Livy; the salt lake near To-bulba, the Stagnum Salinarum of Hirtius; the Jibbel Had-deffa, an entire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks, whose

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. p. 130. ^c Herodot. lib. iv. ^d Strab. lib. xvii. Appian. lib. ii. Bell. Civil. p. 748. ^e Strab. Italicus, Lucan, &c. ^f Gell. lib. vi. cap. 10. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 12. Liv. Epit. xviii. Val. Max. p. 1, 8, 19. ^g Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. ^h Shaw ubi sup. p. 147. ⁱ Idem, p. 197.

salt is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour; and the lead-ores at Jibbel Rif-safs, near Hammam Leef, which are very rich (C.)

The

(C) We shall beg leave in this note just to mention the principal islands on the coast of Africa Propria, taken notice of by the ancients, which are the following:

1. Cossyra or Cosyrus, a small island in the African sea, which some authors refer to Sicily; but Strabo makes it part of the proper territory of Carthage. According to Ptolemy, it had a city of the same name, which, by reason of its vicinity to Carthage, was doubtless a place of some repute. Scylax tells us it was a day's sail only from the promontory Lilybæum in Sicily; and Strabo places it in the middle of the African sea, at an equal distance from Lilybæum and Clypea, a city of Africa Propria. From some antique coins, exhibited by Paruta and Lucas Holstenius, it appears, that Cossyra was the name most frequently used. According to Strabo, this island was an hundred and fifty stadia in circumference (1).

2. The Tarichæ of Strabo were certain small islands very near the coast of Africa Propria, almost opposite to Leptis Minor. They are at present called the Jowries, and lie opposite Lempta and Tobulba. Caesar regarded them as posts of

some importance, which is all that we have at present to say of them (2).

3. Lopadusa, opposite to Thapsus above mentioned, was six miles long, according to Pliny. The same author affirms it to have been fifty miles distant from Cercina and Cercinitis, two small islands belonging to the Regio Syrtica (3).

4. Aethusa or Aegusa, another little island mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, situated to the westward of the former (4).

5. The Larunefæ, two small islands, according to the Palatine MS. of Ptolemy, lay above Ruspina (5).

6. The Insula Dracontia of Ptolemy were to the north of Hippo Diarrhytus. Two little flat contiguous islands called the Cani, not far from cape Blanco, seem at this day to bid fair for the same situation that Ptolemy affirms for his Insula Dracontia (6).

7. Galata, a little island above Tabraca, was distant three hundred stadia from the continent of Africa (7).

8. Egimurus was a small island in the gulph of Carthage, about thirty miles from that capital. Pliny assures us, that there were two rocks near this island called the *Aras Egimuris*.

(1) Pto. lib. iv. cap. 3. Scyl. Caryand. Strab. lib. vi. Parut. apud Thesaur. Ant. & Hist. Sic. vol. viii. Luc. Holsten in Not. ad Steph. Byzant. (2) Strab. lib. xvii. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. §. 20.

(3) Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. v. cap. 7. (4) Idem, lib. iii. cap. 8. Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 3. (5) Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 4. (6) Ptol. ubi sup. (7) Cellar. ex Itinerario Maritime. ubi sup.

The most ancient inhabitants of this country were¹ the Auses, situated to the west of the river Triton, whose capital city was doubtless Auza or Auzate, said by Menander Ephesius to be built by Eth-baal or Ithobal, king of Tyre; the Maxyes, a Libyan nation; the Machlyes, another Libyan nation, near the lake Tritonis; the Zaueces; and the Zygantes, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. These were, probably, a mixture of old Libyans and Phoenicians, and therefore, in several particulars, resembled both those nations.

S E C T. III.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the Carthaginians.

THE Carthaginians were the descendants of the old Canaanites, and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as Canaan, the son of Ham, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the Greek and Roman writers, who mention any of their affairs, are clear in this point. That they were of the same opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongst their posterity so late as St. Austin's² days; from the authority of Servius and Procopius³; and from the strong attachment they always shewed to the customs and manners of that nation, from which these authors deduce them⁴.

¹ Herodot. lib. iv. * Philistus Syracusanus apud Eusebium in Chron. ad Ann. 804. Appian. in Libyc. sub Init. Vell. Patrc. Hist. Rom. Justin. lib. xviii. &c. ² August. in Exposit. Epist. ad Rom. sub init. ³ Servius in Æn. i. v. 37. & Æn. iv. v. 75. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. fo. ⁴ Herodot. Polyb. Liv. Diodor. Sic. Q. Curt. Justin. Tyrul. Minut. Fel. &c. passim.

muri or Ægimori, which, according to Servius, were the remains of an island, some ages before his time absorb'd by the sea. This author likewise informs us, that they were called Aræ, because on them the Romans and Carthaginians con-

cluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their respective dominions. The modern Zowamoor, between cape Zibeeb and cape Bon or Rasfadar, the Zimbra of our sea charts, is undoubtedly the Ægimurus of the ancients (8).

(8) Strab. lib. xxii. p. 573. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 24. Plin. lib. v. cap. 7. Virg. Æn. i. v. 108. ⁸ Serv. in Loc. Steph. Byzant. &c.

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It is to be naturally supposed, that some of these mixed with the Aborigines, or native Africans, whom they found upon their arrival, and with them, or at least a considerable body of them, formed one people. For this reason it is, that the inhabitants of Byzacium, especially of the maritime parts of it, were sometimes called, by the Greeks and Romans, Libyphoenicians, as consisting of both nations.

Libyphoenicians.

Some authors have imagined, that the Libyphoenicians, or Libyphoenicians, were a distinct nation both from the Libyans and Carthaginians, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or Asiatic Phoenicians and Syrians, bordering upon their respective frontiers, were called Syro-phoenicians, upon account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of contradistinction from the people inhabiting the opposite parts of those two regions, who were known by their proper names, Syrians and Phoenicians. Livy^o says of the Carthaginians, " Mistum Punicum Afris genus;" and Diodorus^q speaks of them to the same effect.

*The form
of govern-
ment at
Carthage.*

The first government settled at Carthage^r was probably monarchical; but this seems to be of short continuance, expiring with Dido, or rather in her life-time, when it was changed into a republic. Authors differ as to the particular form of this republic. Aristotle tells us, that it was partly aristocratical^s; and partly political, that is, democratical (D). According to Polybius^t, monarchy, aristocracy,

^o Vide Bochart, Chan. lib. i. cap. 25. ^p Liv. lib. xxxi.
^q Diodor. Sic. lib. xx. ^r Ubbo Emmius de Stat. & Rep. Carthag. sub init. Christ Hendrich. in Carthag. lib. ii. sect. 1. cap. 15, p. 307.
^s Arist. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 12. ^t Ubbo Emm. ubi supra. ^u Polyb. lib. vi.

(D) *Istauria* (*polity* or *policy*), taken in a general sense (1), signified, according to Aristotle, any form of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined sense it was, among the ancient Greeks before Aristotle's time, frequently synonymous to *demoskaria* (*democracy*), as may be proved from *Aeschines*, and others. But when Aristotle comes to distinguish more minutely (2), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a composition of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated most of oligarchy, was called aristocracy; but that which inclined most to democracy, went by the name of polity or policy. Both of these, in some respects, prevailed in the state of Carthage, as we shall see hereafter, when we come to consider the defects of it; for which reason Aristotle tells us, it was composed of both. In short, polity

cracy, and democracy, all centered in it. And lastly, Isocrates^u makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. In forming it, the Carthaginians undoubtedly borrowed many things from their ancestors the Tyrians, who, for several ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high estimation, on account of their wisdom, riches, and power. Aristotle intimates, that the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Carthaginian republics were the most perfect and best modeled of any in the world; and that these in many particulars agreed; though, in several respects, he gives the preference to the Carthaginian. The consummate wisdom of those maxims and institutions, upon which this last was formed, appeared from hence, that notwithstanding the great authority the people bore in Carthage, there had been no instance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of disturbing the public tranquility, nor of any tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppression. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the constitution of Carthage was composed, were of such a nature, as to counterpoise one another, and, by their mutual harmony, preserve and promote the public felicity. These were the suffetes, the senate, and the people, who, whilst they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic, of all others, the most flourishing. But when by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the ascendant over the senate, prudence was banished their counsils, nothing but cabals and factions took place, and of consequence, such precipitate steps were taken, as first rendered this formidable state weak and contemptible, and soon after completed its destruction.

The suffetes^v were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magistrates of Carthage. They answered to the two kings of Lacedæmon, as well as to the Roman consuls; for which reason we find them styled in different authors both kings and consuls^w. However, these did not in all things correspond; for the Spartan kings were

^u Isocrat. in Nicocl. ^v Christ. Hendreich. ubi supra, p. 311.
Corn. Nep. in Annib. Phid. Sic. lib. xiv. &c. ^w Just. lib. xxxi.
Calid. apud Festum, &c. Hend. & Ubbo Emm. ubi supra.

or policy regarded men as rich and poor, aristocracy, as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which considerations had their influence in the Carthaginian com-

perpetual,

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perpetual; had an hereditary right of succession^y, and the state was supplied with them from two families only. But the Carthaginian suffetes were annually elected out of the noblest families, and were always such persons as most attracted the public favour by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth. For which reason Aristotle prefers the supreme magistrates of Carthage to those of Lacedæmon. The Roman consuls had not only a great share in the administration of civil, but likewise in the conduct of military affairs; but it is very probable that the suffetes were, generally speaking, confined to the former. Their province was to assemble the senate, in which they presided^z, to propose subjects for deliberation, to tell the voices, and to preside likewise in all emergent and decisive debates. It does not appear by whose suffrages the suffetes were elected, but most likely^a either by those of the centumvirate, or the people. According to some authors, they had the power of life and death, and of punishing all crimes whatsoever. Their concurrence in all points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all the cities of note in the Carthaginian dominions^b, had their suffetes or chief magistrates, as well as the metropolis.

The senate.

The senate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their age, experience, as well as illustrious on account of their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. They attained this honour by election; but who were their electors is not known. Their number likewise we are ignorant of, though from Justin^c we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that of either the Spartan or Roman senators; for, according to this author, a hundred were selected from it, and appointed as judges to enquire into the conduct of their generals. If this number was thought requisite to inspect into this single article, how many must have been deemed necessary to superintend, and, in concert with the suffetes, manage every branch of the administration! In this grand^d council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation, in short, to all affairs of consequence, whether foreign or domestic, were debated, and for the most

^y Arist. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 11. Polyb. lib. iii.

^z Liv. ubi supra, & lib. xxxiv. Ubbi Emm. & Headr. ubi supra.

^a Selden. de Ditis Syris in Prolegom. cap. 2. & Boch. Chan. ubi supra.

^b Justin. lib. xix. Ubbi Emm. vii supra, Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 15. Appian. in Libyc. lib. iii. cap. xv.

part determined. So that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and spirit were from thence diffused over all the public deliberations. When the votes of the senate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and from hence there lay no appeal. But when there was either a division or a disagreement with the suffetes, the affair in question was referred to the people, who, in such a case, had the liberty of offering their sentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legislature. What was thus offered, passed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier resort of power. However, as Aristotle observes, this was a defect in the constitution, and was at last attended with fatal consequences. For, during the second and third Punic wars, the populace at Carthage prevailed over the senate, whilst the senatorial authority at Rome was in its full vigour; which, if we may give credit to Polybius, was the principal cause of the rise of the one, and fall of the other. We must not omit, that none but persons of the most distinguished merit were elected senators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual.

What authority the people in Carthage possessed, whilst the different parts of which the constitution was framed were duly proportioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural share of power, does not appear from any ancient author. It is likely they had a vote at the election of magistrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly those in which they were immediately concerned, and, in short, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In Aristotle's days, the commonwealth seems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too strong a tendency to popular government. However, the senate still preserved a considerable degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrollable; but in Hannibal's time, about a hundred years after, there was reason to apprehend a total subversion of the constitution: the senate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themselves almost the whole power, and of course every thing which might have promoted the public welfare was obstructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the most famous and potent state of Carthage began to decline, and, in the course of a few years, lost not only its liberty but its very being.

The centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred, consisted of a hundred and four persons, not simply of a hundred, as

*The centumvirate
and quinquevirate.*

^c Arist. ubi supra. Ub. Emm. Hand. Polyb. Liv. Just. &c. pass.

^f Ub. Emm. & Hand. ubi supra.

the name implies, receiving its denomination from the greater number⁵. According to Aristotle, who is the only author that has given us any description of it, the power it enjoyed was very extensive, though confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature⁶. From this tribunal were selected five judges, whose jurisdiction was superior to that of the rest, to whom we may with propriety give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewise of choosing those persons who composed the tribunal of the hundred; were, under the suffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great measure, the lives, fortunes, and reputations of all the citizens depending upon them. Aristotle informs us, that the Carthaginian centumvirate answered in several respects to the ephori at Sparta; but, with deference to this philosopher, we think the quinquevirate should be substituted in its room, as having a better title to the comparison. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate gave the Carthaginian state the appearance of an oligarchy, though, as the members of this council discharged the duties of their function without any salary or reward, and were elected freely by suffrages, not by lot, it had likewise the resemblance of an aristocracy⁷. Ubbo Emmius⁸ thinks, that the suffetes presided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the senate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. If so, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of Hannibal⁹, by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term.

Civil officers at Carthage. The principal, if not only, civil officers established at Carthage (besides the suffetes), that have been remembered by the ancients, were the praetor, the questor, and the censor.

The praetor. The great Hannibal had the praetorship¹⁰ conferred upon him in the fifth year after the conclusion of the second Punic war; from whence it is evident, that this must have been one of the first employments in the state. The person invested with this high dignity had a great influence, not only in passing, but likewise in repealing laws, as may be inferred from Hannibal's impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point against them, during his continuance in this office. He also received the tribute paid

⁵ Just. lib. xii. Aris. ubi supra.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ub. Emm. ubi supra.

⁸ Idem ibid.

⁹ Liv. lib. xxxiii.

¹⁰ Idem
¹¹ Idem

by the different nations under the Carthaginian power, collected the yearly taxes and subsidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a transition from the office of suffetés (after it became annual) to the prætorship was not uncommon in Carthage ^a. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of business, besides those above mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of sufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quæstor was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, though subordinate to them, had a very considerable degree of power. He likewise collected and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced Livy to give him the name of quæstor. This officer, in his double capacity, seems to have answered to the old Roman quæstors, who were introduced under the regal government, as well as those who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was sometimes at least, if not of course, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from Livy and Polybius; but nothing farther concerning him or his function.

We find another civil officer established at Carthage, whose business was to inspect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is styled by Cornelius Nepos ^b, the prefect of manners, or the censor. Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, though the first man in the republic, could not escape this inspection; for the censor took from him a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with decency. Hence we may conclude, that the power of this magistrate extended to every subject of the state, even those of the greatest abilities and distinction.

Our readers must not expect any regular system of the Carthaginian laws. The utmost we can pretend to is to give a few fragments, or rather traces, of an inconsiderable part of these laws. They have all long since been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles, except what we here produce, escaped the general wreck of time.

1. There was a law of very long standing amongst the Carthaginians ^c, by which they were enjoined to sacrifice to Saturn only children nobly born. This, not being observed

*Children of
rank sacri-
ficed to Sa-
turn,*

^a Polyb. Diòdor. ^b Corn. Nep. in Vit. Hamilc. ^c Diodor.
Sic. lib. xx. Plut. de Superbit. & de Ser. Vindic. Deor. Herodot.
lib. vii.

for some time, grew into disuse, the children of slaves and foreigners being substituted in their room; but when Agathocles reduced Carthage almost to the last extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn, who, as they imagined, was offended at the neglect of this law. However, to atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in the city were offered to that deity.

Ceres and Proserpina admitted into the number of the Carthaginian deities.

2. By another law, Ceres and Proserpina were admitted into the number of the Carthaginian deities. Magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests were selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service; and sacrifices, after the Greek manner, were offered up. This regulation took place during the consternation the people of Carthage were thrown into by the African insurrection, and the misfortunes that attended them in their war with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. It was instituted in order to appease the anger of these goddesses, whose farther resentment they dreaded, because Himilco, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, had plundered their temples in the suburb of Acradina.

Greek language forbidden in Carthage.

3. About this time a law was enacted at Carthage ⁹, by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the Greek language. It was hoped by this restriction to prevent for the future all treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The law was occasioned by a Carthaginian traitor, who, writing in Greek to Dionysius, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city: but this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the great Hannibal himself understood this language so well, that he composed in it a history of the actions of Manlius Vulso, during the time of his proconsulship in Asia, having been taught it by Sosilius the Lacedæmonian.

The centumvirate instituted to restrain the power of the Carthaginian generals.

4. It has been hinted, that a council was formed at Carthage, consisting of a hundred persons taken out of the senate, whose province it was to enquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be supposed, that this could any otherwise have been effected than by a law passed for that purpose. The ends proposed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago's family within proper bounds, which, by engrossing the first employments, was become formidable to the state; and to secure the republic against the great authority

of its generals in succeeding ages, who, whilst in the field, were quite despotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the same with the centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred ⁴.

5. A sort of sumptuary law was enacted by the Carthaginian senate, to restrain all kinds of excesses at marriages. This was occasioned by a design of Hanno, the principal person in the city, to make himself master of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. His intention was to keep open-house for the populace that day, and to regale the senate in a most magnificent manner. All the members of this body were to have been taken off by poison at the entertainment, a step which would have enabled him to seize upon the government without opposition. Hanno, upon account of his great wealth and power, had such an influence in the city, that the senate, upon the discovery of this plot, did not think proper to punish him for it; but contented themselves with passing this law ⁵.

The Carthaginians being descended from the Tyrians, their religious worship must of course have agreed in all points at first with that of the Phœnicians, which has been already in some measure described. In process of time, by their intercourse with the Greeks, especially those of Sicily, they gradually imbibed the superstition of that nation, adopted several new deities before unknown ⁶, and intermixed some of the Greek religious ceremonies with the Tyrian. The Carthaginians likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been acquainted with the different kinds of superstition established in most nations, with which doubtless they tingued their own. From whence, as well as from other considerations, it appears, that the religion of Carthage was a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

The knowledge we have of the Carthaginian manner of worship, as well as the objects of that worship, is derived from the Greek and Roman writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods ⁷ to those of the Carthaginians. This practice has rendered their accounts and observations on this head more imperfect and less valuable; for though we know, that the Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian deities did in general agree, yet we are as well assured, that each of those nations had not only some particular modes of worship, but likewise some particular deities peculiar to itself. It is impossible therefore to attain an exact knowledge of the Carthaginian gods from what is

⁴ Just. lib. xix. & Ub. Emm. ubi supra.
⁵ Just. lib. xxi.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. xiv. xx. &c. Herod. Polyb.

delivered by the Greek and Roman authors. All we can do is, to consider their different attributes, and the circumstances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the ancient authors. By comparing these with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the Canaanites, and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious customs and manners of those nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the Carthaginians.

Saturn the principal deity at Carthage.

Diodorus Siculus asserts, that the Carthaginians, in a particular manner, adored Chronus, who, according to Quintus Curtius ^x, and an infinity of other authors, was the Saturn of the Latins. The sacrifices offered to him were children of the most distinguished families. Upon the signal defeat of the Carthaginian army by Agathocles, three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. Diodorus farther says; that they had a brazen statue or colossus of this deity, the hands of which were extended in act to receive, and bent downwards in such a manner, as that the child laid upon it immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace ^y.

Though the Carthaginian god, to whom human victims were so agreeable, had the name of Chronus given him by Diodorus, yet we cannot certainly infer from hence, that he was the same deity; because his Punic name is unknown, and therefore it is impossible to determine whether it was of the same import with Chronus. However, we shall endeavour to supply this defect, by offering some reasons, which, if they will not absolutely confirm the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

In the first place, the Carthaginian custom of delivering their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the Greek tradition concerning Chronus, that he devoured his own children. This seems to have been a great inducement to Diodorus to conclude that he and Chronus were the same.

Both the oblations offered to this Carthaginian deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewise the brasen statue mentioned by Diodorus, plainly shew, that he was Moloch, or Milchom, the famous idol of the Ammonites, Canaanites, and neighbouring nations ^z. The description already given of this false divinity, in conjunction with Scripture, will

^x Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 3. Pescennius Festus apud Laetant. Divin. Instit. cap. ar. ^y Diodor. Sic. ubi supra. ^z Vide Grot. in Levit. Voss. de Idololat. Le Clerc Com. in Levit. Saurin's Discourse. And Calmet's Dissertation on that subject.

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remove all doubts as to this point. Now, that Moloch or Milchom was the Chronus of Diodorus, seems clear from the following considerations.

Chronus^a had for a considerable period, even amongst the old inhabitants of Latium, human victims sacrificed to him, as Moloch had in Palestine.

The Cretans^b in ancient times offered children to Chronus, as the Canaanites and Phoenicians did to Moloch.

Moloch was the principal god of the country in which his worship prevailed, as appears from his name, which implies sovereignty, from his having such particular notice taken of him in Scripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the Ammonites. Now Chronus^c was the chief object of adoration in Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him.

Lastly, to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both Moloch and Chronus were indisputably the great Baal, Bel^d or Belus of the Sidonians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, and consequently the same individual deity.

Baal, Belus, Bal or Bel, (for he was known by all these names) was the great god of the Carthaginians. As it is therefore apparent from Scripture, that he was delighted with human sacrifices, and as he was the Chronus of the Greeks, it is evident that the Carthaginian divinity Diodorus had in view must have been really Chronus.

The goddess Coelestis or Urania was held in the highest veneration by the Carthaginians. The prophet Jeremiah calls her Baaleth Shemaim, the queen of heaven, i. e. Juno Olympia; Megasthenes^e in Eusebius, gives her the name of Beltis, or queen Belitis; Sanchoniatho^f, in Philo Byblius, Dione and Baaltis; Hesychius^g, Belthes. According to this last author the word was applied both to Juno and Venus; and indeed in the Phoenician theology we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. St. Augustin says, that Carthage was the place where Venus had esta-

*The goddess
Cælestis
worshipped
at Car-
thage.*

^a Macrob. Saturn lib. i. cap. 7. Ovid. in Fast. Laetant. de Fal. Relig. lib. i. Seld. de Diis Syr. Syntag. i. cap. 6. Dan. Clasenius in Theol. Gent. lib. iii. cap. 4. Sherlog. Antiq. Bibl. de Moloch.

^b Itrius in Collect. Sacrific. & Dan. Clasenius ubi sup.

^c Vossius de Idololat. Ovid. Macrob. Itr. Porphyr. Seld. Clasen. &c. ubi supra.

^d Seld. de Diis Syr. ubi sup. Vossius ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 5. Vid. etiam Lud. Viv. ad D. August. de Civ. Dei, lib. vii. cap. 9. Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 152. Suid. sub voc. Bel.

^e Jer. viii. 18. xliv. 17, & alibi. ^f Megasthenes & Abydenus apud Euseb. in Chron.

^g Sanchoniatho. & Philo Bybl. apud Euseb. de Prep. Evang. lib. i. ^h Hesych. sub. voc. Belitis.

blished her reign¹; and Virgil informs us, that Juno preferred that spot to all others, even to Samos itself. As therefore both the Greeks and Romans had, generally speaking, one chief divinity to preside over every particular city, country and district, this double one must have been owing to the Phœnician or Punic word, above mentioned, which included both of the goddesses. Ashteroth and Astarte were synonymous to Urania and Baaltis, and denoted the moon as well as Venus and Juno, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly in droughts, to obtain rain². The ancient Greeks frequently confound Juno, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon; which is to be attributed to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, from whom they received their system of religion, who seem in the most ancient times to have had but one name for them all. In such a perplexed point as this we shall expatiate no farther, since it would be both fruitless and unnecessary; besides, it would carry us from our subject.

Many deities went anciently by the name of Baals.

Besides the first Belus already mentioned, there were several others of a later date in great repute amongst the Phœnicians, particularly those of Tyre, and of course amongst the Carthaginians. Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo or the Sun, were all of them so styled, according to the most celebrated authors who have treated of this subject. That Jupiter was worshipped by this people under the denomination of Belus or Baal, is notorious from Polybius, Menander Ephesius, and Dius³. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, in general, at the head of their treaties. For which reason some have not scrupled to affirm, that he was the Baal Berith of Phœnicia⁴; but we are rather inclined to suppose with bishop Cumberland, that his last deity was Chronus⁵. Mars, according to the Chronicon Alexandrinum, compared with Homer and Hestiaeus, an ancient author cited by Eusebius⁶, was dignified with the title of Belus by the Persians, Assyrians, and doubtless by the Carthaginians also, since he was a favourite divinity in their state, especially amongst their generals. Bacchus was called Belus by the poet Nonnus⁷; and no wonder, since he is often taken to be the same with the poet Jupiter. The nation we are treating of had, in all

¹ D. August. in Psal. xcviij.

² Tertul. Apolog. cap. 23.

³ Polyb. lib. vii. & alib. pass. Menander Ephesius & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.

⁴ M. Banier in Mythol. vol. i.

⁵ Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152.

⁶ Homer. pass. Hestiaeus apud Euseb. de Prep. Evang. lib. ix. & apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 6. Vid. etiam Selden. de Dīa Syr. Syntag. 2.

⁷ Nonnus in Dionysiac. apud Seld. de Dīa Syr. Syntag. 2.

probability, some knowlege of him. Apollo, or the Sun, went frequently either by his name simply, or by others, in which this made one part of the composition ^a. Though sometimes the people of Carthage reposed great confidence in him, yet we find their ancestors, the Tyrians, in a case of extremity, were doubtful of him: for being apprehensive that he intended to forsake them, and join Alexander, then vigorously pushing on the siege of their city, they fastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules ^b. Neptune was likewise one of the Dii magni majorum gentium, or gods of the first class, of the Carthaginians ^c. It cannot well be doubted but that he was the Baal of Sidon, called Thalassius, or the Sea Baal.

The word Baal, in itself an appellative, at first served to denote the true God, among those who adhered to the true religion; though afterwards, when it became common amongst the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their respective idols, he rejected it ^d. The false god to whom they first appropriated it was Chronus or Saturn, as intimated above. In process of time it became a title or mark of distinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the Baal-Peor, Baal-Zebub, and Baal-Moloch of the Syrians and Phoenicians. The term imported god or lord amongst the Orientals, as zeus did amongst the Greeks. The plural Baalim in Scripture signifies gods, lords, masters, and sovereigns, correspondent to the sense of Bel in the Chaldee tongue. According to Servius ^e, who is followed by Vossius, Bal in the Punic language had two significations; it either specified Saturn, or was equivalent to the Latin *deus* or god. Xenophon infinates, that in the earliest times, every head of one of the most illustrious families in all countries was called Chronus or Saturn; every first-born son or daughter of such families Jupiter or Juno; and the most valiant of their offspring Hercules. Theodoret seems to apply this custom to the Phoenicians in particular ^f; adding, that such noble personages were deified for some signal service they did to their country. As we have made Baal and Zeus or Jupiter words of the same import in different languages, we may say of the former what Varro in Tertullian says of the latter, that the number of those so styled amounted to three hundred. Nevertheless, some are of opinion that there were originally but two gods of the Phoenicians, and consequently of the Car-

^a Selden ubi sup. ^b Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 3. ^c Polyb. lib. vii. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. ^d Seld. de Dii Syr. cap. i. sub. init. & Hof. ii. 16. 17. ^e Serv. in Enni. Voss. Theol. Gent. lib. iii. cap. 4. ^f Theodoret. de Graec. Affect. lib. iii.

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thaginians; or, what is the same thing, that all the other deities were resolvable into two, namely, Baal^z and Ashtoreth, or Belus and Astarte.

The Sun worshipped at Carthage; Baalsamen, or, as the Hebrews would have written it, Baal-Shehaim, that is, *the lord of heaven*, appears to have been the Sun, as Belisama, or *the queen of heaven*, the Moon. According to St. Austin he had religious honours paid him by the Carthaginians^y. It is probable they had no representation of him, because they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory. Damascius calls him El, Bolathes, and makes him to have been the same with Saturn^z.

as likewise Ceres and Proserpina, The Carthaginians introduced Ceres and Proserpina as Greek deities, when ill success attended their arms in the war with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. The statues of these goddesses stood in the temple of Dido, who was likewise deified by those idolaters, together with her sister Anna. We find on the reverses of several Carthaginian coins an ear or ears of corn, either in allusion to the goddess Ceres, or as a symbol of the fruitfulness of the country.

and Mercury. As the Carthaginians were a people who supported themselves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be supposed that they neglected the worship of the god of genius, industry, and traffic. The ancients allotted this province to Mercury; and accordingly we find the Carthaginians offered divine honours to him under the name of Asumes or Asoumes^x.

Divine honours paid also to Hercules. Nothing is more celebrated in ancient history than the Tyrian Hercules, whose worship was brought to Carthage by Dido, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of Africa, and as far as Gades or Cadiz, where he had a magnificent temple. The Thasians and Carthaginians supposed him to preside over gold, silver, and all sorts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of Thasus, where a Phœnician colony being planted, discovered some gold mines. The Thasians adored him with the same solemnity as the people of Tyre, erecting a brazen statue to him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at Tyre and Carthage. The Pelasgi^b, originally Phœnicians, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had, on account of a great scarcity of grain they once laboured under. The Carthaginians, for a considerable time, never failed sending to Tyre the first-fruits of their revenues,

^x Seld. de Diis Syr. Synt. 2. cap. 2. p. 145. Shuckford in his Con-
nec. b. v. ^y August. in Jud. quæst. 16. ^z Damasc. in Vit.
Midor. ^a Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. 5. & Bochart. ex Aucta-
rio Diose. Chan. lib. ii. cap. xv. ^b Strab. Herodot. Dionys.
Halicarn. Epiphani. Boch. Salmas. Grot.

with the tythe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage^c. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years^d. At Carthage, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise that of gratifying him annually with human victims^e. Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest seems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules.

Iolaus comes next to Hercules, as being either related to him, or who introduced some of his relations into the island of Sardinia^f. The natives of that island at his arrival were Tyrrhenians or Etruscans. The people inhabiting the mountainous parts of Sardinia received the appellation of Iolaenses from him; and even the most fruitful provinces had the name of Campi Iolei, the Iolean or Iolaean Fields^g. Hercules and Iolaus, according to Vossius^h, had jointly divine honours paid them, either because he was Hercules' near relation, or assisted him in destroying the Hydra, which he performed by drying up the gore with a red-hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from sprouting out in its room. Ovid pretends that, at the intercession of Hercules, Hebe restored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the Carthaginians had this island in possession a considerable time; it is supposed they borrowed him from the Sardi; for that he was one of their principal deities we are given to understand by Polybiusⁱ. The rites and ceremonies observed at his public worship are fully described by Vossius after Pausanias.

Hendreich intimates, that the Dea Syria, or Syrian Goddess, was a deity of the Carthaginians^k; but who she was authors are not agreed. By the description of her temple already given, and the statue in it, she must either have been Juno, or a group of all the goddesses; which last opinion seems most probable. The curious may find further satisfaction on this head, by consulting Tertullian and Lipsius^l.

The people of Carthage likewise addressed themselves to Æsculapius, whom Servius calls Poenigena, because he supposes his mother to have been a Carthaginian. The place more particularly sacred to him was Byrsa, or rather the top of that fortress, famous for his spacious temple there situated^m. We have already observed, that Asdrubal's wife,

^c Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. ^d Maccab. & Theodoret. lib. Semest. Serm. iii. cap. 2. ^e Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 6. ^f Strab. lib. v. ^g Diod. Sic. ^h Voss. Theol. Gent. lib. i. cap. 40. ⁱ Polyb. lib. viii. ^k Hendr. lib. ii. sect. 1. cap. 4. ^l Tertul. Apol. cap. 24. ^m Appian. in Libyc.

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at the final destruction of Carthage, burnt this edifice, together with herself, her family, and nine hundred Roman deserters. Considerable quantities of vervain, an herb sacred to him, were preserved in this place. The best authors suppose him to have been originally a Messenian, or an Egyptian; yet, according to Vossius, the Carthaginians received him immediately from the Tyrians, to whom he was introduced either by the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians^a. Alexander took Tyre in the first year of the hundred and twelfth Olympiad; and Carthage was finally destroyed by Scipio in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worship of Æsculapius passed from the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians to the Tyrians, and from them to the Carthaginians. Tosorhrus, or Seforthrus, a king of Memphis, and the second of the third dynasty of Manetho; for his great skill in the art of physic, is generally allowed to have been the first Æsculapius.

Heribus. Herebus, another Carthaginian deity mentioned by Silius and Polybius, must have been Pluto, or Dis. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and represented under a human shape, with long loose hair^b.

Triton. Triton, the sea god, had a place amongst the deities of Carthage, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians. Some authors have told us, that he was so called from Τρίτων, a Greek word signifying a wave. It appears from Virgil, that Triton and Cymothoe were to release or heave off vessels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The ancient mythologists make the nymph Cymothoe to have been the daughter of Nereus and Doris; but Triton the son of Neptune and Amphitrite^c.

Mopsus. Mopsus, a famous augur or soothsayer, after his death became a sort of oracle at Carthage^d. The memory of this deified sage has been transmitted to posterity by Luctatius Placidus and Apuleius^e. Strabo writes of one Mopsus, the son of Mento, the daughter of Tiresius: but, according to Vossius, this was the son of Ampycus, an Argonaut, mentioned by Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus^f. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to his honour by this nation, from whence responses were given, as from so many oracles;

^a Voss. ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 32. ^b Sil. Ital. lib. i. Polyb. lib. vii. ^c Virg. Aen. i. ver. 143. ^d Apul. de Deo Socrat. & Hendr. ubi supra. ^e Luct. Plac. in Stat. Thebaid. iii. Apul. ubi supra. ^f Valer. Flac. & Apollon. in Argonaut.

Rivers, meads and waters, or rather the supposed genii of all these inanimate parts of the creation, were objects of adoration^t. This custom likewise prevailed amongst the Greeks, Romans, and most other nations, from very ancient times. No one has handled this subject better than Vossius, whose writings our learned readers will peruse with great pleasure. Some maintain, that the worship of the elements was prior to all others in the Pagan world; but we cannot assent to their opinion.

Scaliger^u the Elder acquaints us, that the old Africans paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewise fire; the custom at Carthage. This sentiment he seems to have taken from Leo Africanus^v.

With this^x the air and winds also shared divine honours, as also the air and winds. a practice probably derived from the Assyrians. The air to this nation appeared to be superior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction; for which reason it was honoured with adoration. We read in Sanchoniatho, that Usous consecrated two rude stones or pillars to fire and wind; to which we may add, that the worship of the air and winds was not unknown to the Greeks and Persians.

The Carthaginians sometimes swore by the manes of Dido, as Silius relates. Anna, her sister, passed for a goddess, under the name of Anna Perenna. It is imagined, though with no great appearance of truth, that she fled with Æneas, and was drowned by Lavinia in the river Numicus^y; from whence she was called Nympha Numicia. It is certain the Romans, as well as the Carthaginians, paid her divine honours. Ceres and Proserpina were ranked with Dido, as being all in the same temple. Ceres was either celestis, that is, the moon, or subcelestis, that is, the fruitful earth. She answered to the Egyptian Isis^z.

The honour that Dido herself received from the people of Carthage after her death, she, according to Ovid, had in her life-time conferred upon her husband Sichæus^u.

Tellus, or the Earth, was worshipped by the Carthaginians, as appears from the treaty of peace with Philip, mentioned by Polybius. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourse to Vossius.

^t Sil. Ital. lib. i. Voss. ubi supra, cap. 67. ^u Jul. Cæs. Scalig. Exercit. 258. ^w Joan. Leo African. de Prisc. Afric. Fid. & Relig. lib. i. ^x Jul. Firmic. Profan. Relig. Lib. ^y Ovid. Fast. lib. iii. ^z Lipius de Cruc. lib. i. cap. 5. Pompon. Sabin. in Æn. iv. Varro apud Voss. ubi supra; P. Nannius in Misc. lib. vii. cap. 10. ^a Polyb. lib. vii.

*as likewife
Hamilcar;* “Hamilcar ^b (says Herodotus), by his father’s side a Carthaginian, but by his mother’s a Syracusan, was, by reason of his virtue and superior abilities, elected king of the Carthaginians. The same day that the battle of Salamis was fought, being defeated by Gelon and (his father-in-law) Theron near Himera, he vanished, and could never after be found, though Gelon caused the strictest search to be made after him. The Carthaginians, who held his image in high veneration, say, that during the engagement between the Barbarians and Greeks, which continued from morning till evening without intermission, Hamilcar staid in the camp sacrificing, and throwing entire victims upon a flaming pile; but that seeing his troops routed, he himself rushed into the fire, and being consumed, was never more seen. Whether he disappeared in the manner related by the Phœnicians, or as the Carthaginians assert, it is certain, that the Carthaginians offer sacrifices to him, and have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities they have founded, though the most memorable are in Carthage.” So far Herodotus. It is not unlikely that the Carthaginians adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; and we are assured by Silius, that notwithstanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen at last, Hannibal was adored in his life-time ^c. These deities were of the same kind with the Dii Indigetes of the Latins.

*and the
Philæni.* The Carthaginians also ranked among their gods the two Philæni. These brothers having been sent by their countrymen ~~to accommodate~~ to accommodate some differences with the Cyreneans, and, in conjunction with the commissaries appointed by that people, to settle the limits of their respective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The Cyreneans, incensed at this unfair dealing, would not cede the tract demanded, unless the Philæni would suffer themselves to be buried alive in the place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. To this proposal they instantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected to their memory; which served as a landmark or limit to the Carthaginian territories on the side of Cyrenaica for many succeeding ages. Sallust, Mela, and Valerius Maximus, relate all the particulars of this story ^d.

^b Herodot. lib. vii.

^c Sil. Ital. lib. xvii. & Barthius in Advers. p. 801.

^d Sallust. Jugurth. cap. 79. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 7. Valerius Maxim. lib. v. cap. 6. Vide Polyb. lib. iii.

Strab. lib. iii. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. Solin. cap. 30. & Cellar. Geog.

Apt. lib. iv. cap. 3.

St. Austin tells us, that some of the Carthaginian divinities had the name of Abaddires^a, and their priests that of Eucaddires: but we are altogether in the dark with respect to their nature, origin, and worship.

We must not omit, that the Carthaginians carried about with them some small images, representing certain gods, in covered chariots. Eustathius calls these *ναῦς ζευγνορμένες*, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a sort of oracle, and their responses were understood by the motions impressed upon the vehicle. This was likewise an Egyptian and Libyan custom. The ancient Germans also had something like it, as we learn from Tacitus^f. Philo Byblus maintains, that Agrotes^g, or at least his image, was carried about in procession in this manner. The tabernacle of Moloch, above mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

It is remarkable, that, in the treaty with Philip so often cited, mention is made of the Daemon or Genius of Carthage^b. Who this might be, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only in general observe, that the pagan world looked upon these dæmons as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who directed, in a great measure, the administration of the world.

Portable temples in use amongst the Carthaginians.

The Genius of Carthage.

The Cabiri were likewise adored at Carthage. The Phœnicians first paid them divine honours, afterwards the Egyptians, who built them a magnificent temple at Memphis in the earliest ages, which continued to the time of Achilles Tatius. The Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Cypriots, Phrygians, Etruscans, Latins, Carthaginians, and almost all the ancient Pagans, had the most profound reverence for the Cabiric or Samothracian mysteries. The vulgar believed all initiated into these mysteries, would be happy both here and hereafter. According to Sanchoniatho, the Dii Cabiri were eight in number, being the sons of Sydik. The inhabitants of Samothrace sacrificed dogs to Hecate in the cave Zerinthus, sacred to the Cabiri. The Pelasgi, Samothraccians, &c. celebrated the Cabiric mysteries in the night-time, with great indecency; a circumstance which was the principal motive with the ancients not to transmit them in writing to posterity. Bishop Cumberland, the abbé Banier, and Astorius, have almost exhausted this subject.

The Anaces, Anactes, or Dioscuri, are by some thought to have been the same with the Cabiri; but others differ in

And the Anaces or Anactes.

^a August. Epist. Max. Madaus. 44. ^f Tacit. de Sit. Mor. & Pop. Germ. ^g Phil. Bybl. apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. i. Polyb. lib. vii.

Carthage; excepting that the money obtained by this infamous commerce, amongst the Babylonians and Phœnicians, was presented to Mylitta or Astarte, i. e. Venus; whereas the Carthaginian women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use^w.

Punic tongue at first the same with the Phœnicians.

The Hebrew and Phœnician languages were nearly the same, as has been already observed. Now, the Pœni or Carthaginians having been originally Phœnicians, it is undeniable, that their language must at first have been the Phœnician. However, Scaliger ^x believes, that the Punic (he must mean that of after-ages), in some respects, deviated from the Hebrew and Phœnician; a circumstance which, considering how distant the Carthaginians were from their mother-country Phœnicia, and the people they were incorporated among, is not to be wondered at. It is much more surprising, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner, the whole of their original tongue. For, that they did so, after what has been advanced by Scaliger, Petit, Bochart, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

Agreed in substance with the Hebrew.

Bochart has produced a collection of Punic words from different authors, and traced them to the Hebrew or Phœnician. All which will serve as so many proofs, that the Carthaginian language agreed in general with these; that, notwithstanding some small variations from its mother-tongues, it ever continued to be the same in substance with them.

Hebrew, Phœnician, and Punic proper names nearly the same.

It appears, that the word Carthago or Cartaco itself was of Hebrew or Phœnician extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of Hebrew or Phœnician and Punic proper names will not a little contribute to confirm the sentiment, which we, in common with so many others, have espoused:

Hebrew or Phœnician.

Zachæus.
Michæas.
Amalec.
Melchior.
Jesche, or Jesse.

Punic

Sichæus.
Machæus.
{ Amilco, or Himilco.
Amilcar.
Gisgo, or Gesco.

^w Valer. Max. lib. ii. & Hend. ubi supra.
Uber. p. 362. Seld. de Diis Syr. Synt. ii. cap. 6.

^x Scalig. ad

Hebrew or Phoenician.

Punic.

Hinnon, or	Hanno.
Hanun, or	
Hanoh.	Hannibal.
Hannabaal, or	
Baal-Hanan.	Adrubal.
Ezra, or	
Ezdras-Baal.	Barca.
Barac.	Elifas.
Elizabeth.	Imilce.
Milca.	Mago.
Magog.	Messia.
Messiah.	Doni.
Adoni.	

Some of these names we have been supplied with by Reineccius⁷; but the following we remember not to have seen compared by any author whatever:

Hebrew or Phoenician.

Punic.

Aona, or	Anna.
Hannah.	
Jachin, or	Jachon.
Jecon-Jah.	
Adar, or	Adherbal.
Ader-Baal.	
Baal.	Bai.
Mathan, or	
Matham-Baal.	Muthumbal.
Méhir, or	
Mahir-Baal.	Maherbal.
Saph,	
Saphai,	Sappho.
Sapham,	
Saphian, or	
Saphon.	

The Punic tongue had likewise a tincture of the Chaldee ^{Punic} and Syriac, as we learn from Priscian and St. Austin; but this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. Austin, or even that in which he lived.

M. Maius, professor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the Ludovician university of Caëdren, published a small-piece in the year 1728, wherein he proves, that the present

⁷ Reineccii Hist. Jul. in Rep. Crit. vol. II. p. 464. ed. Heim. 1593.

Some re- language of the Maltese contains a great portion of the old
main of it. The materials of which this tract consists, he
is supplied with by father James Stanislaus John Baptist
Kilmer de Gattis, a missionary Jesuit, and native of Malta,
who very well understood the language of the Maltese,
having resided many years among them. The treatise is
very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a
considerable period of time, subject to the Carthaginians;
and that the Punic tongue was planted, and for a long time
continued in it. Here is likewise a large collection of Mal-
tese words more remote from the Arabic than from the
Phoenician, Chaldee, or Syriac.

Joannes Quintinus Heduus, an author who lived in Malta
about the middle of the sixteenth century, was of the same
opinion. This writer affirmed, that the island of Malta was
formerly subject to the Carthaginians; that the African,
i.e. Punic tongue, was spoken there in his time; that there
were then exact stone pillars in the island, which had Pu-
nic inscriptions upon them; and that the Punic words to
be found in Plautus and Avicenna, were perfectly under-
stood by the Maltese.¹ It is an argument, that the old Punic
tongue was not even then much corrupted. All which is
confirmed by Paxillus in his curious history of Sicily.

According to father Kilmer de Gattis², the Maltese have
the following remarkable proverb amongst them at this day:
" Il fust affiuech poli; taci attiech, li schdoc inkella; i. e.
the plague waits a piece of money, give it two, if it will
withdraw itself from you;" which very proverb was a Pu-
nic one in St. Austin's days, as he himself assures us.

Upon the whole, it appears, that the ancient Punic lan-
guage approached nearer the Hebrew and Phoenician than
the Arabic; though, perhaps, it was not remote from the
latter of these languages. Postellus, Schindler, and Dru-
fus, who endeavour to support the former notion, must
therefore give way to Selden, Scaliger, Bochart, Reinesius,
and others, who, with invincible force of reasoning, have
established the other opinion.

The Punic letters, as well as language, at first must cer-
tainly have been the Phoenician, for the reason above
stated. And though they were considerably altered by
length of time, yet it is certain they always retained a great
similitude to their original, as will appear from a nice in-
volution into the Maltese, and the most elegant Phoeni-

¹ Joannes Quintinus Heduus in Epistola ad Petrum, Tho. Patel, de Reb. Sc. &c. C. George, edit. in Theatro Ant. & His. Sic. vol. VI. L. 1. cap. 1. p. 17. 1813. See also Jean Bapt. Kilmer de Gattis apud Jean Bapt. Kilmer, sic supra.

cian and Punic coins. The character however upon the Punic coins is various, many of those found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters entirely rude and barbarous, whilst the better sort exhibit a character resembling the Phoenician, and even the Assyrian or Hebrew letters.

The Phoenicians described their Gods as carrying large bags or sacks full of money; because gold among them was the emblem of power, and symbol of dominion. Perhaps the Carthaginians represented theirs in the same manner, which, together with the great quantity of treasure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the most precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ships, might occasion that insatiable avarice they were so remarkable for.

Several other customs might be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and disposition of the Carthaginians in general, we shall comprise them all in the following short character of that people.

They were entirely intent upon amassing wealth, being mean-spirited, groveling, and torpid, to an incredible degree^c. This must be understood of the Carthaginians in the later periods, and towards the decline of their state; for it is not to be questioned but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that, even to the last, they had many generous and heroic souls amongst them. In short, we find such a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. It must only be observed, that the nearer we approach the destruction of their city, the worse we find them. However, as the characters of the Carthaginians come handed down to us chiefly from the Romans, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too implicit a regard to them. The Romans took care to destroy, not only the Punic archives, which, by the way, shews, that they ought to be reckoned amongst those nations where barbarism prevailed, but almost every thing the Punic writers had produced, that had any appearance of literature, or even history.

Polybius makes it his complaint, that both Philistus and Fabius Picus, the Carthaginian and Roman historians, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them. Of the Carthaginian perfidiousness and ingratitude history supplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to

*Character
of the Car-
thaginians.*

^c Polyb. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. App. in Lycos. Vide also French & Veget.

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Plutarch⁴ tells us, the people of this country were of a morose, fatiguing, and savage disposition, utterly averse to every thing that had the least appearance of wit or raillery. Some of them were likewise actuated by an intolerable spirit of arrogance, and most vicious ambition, by which they were prompted to desire divine honours. Of this pride Hanno affords us a flagrant instance⁵, who, as we are told by Aelian, taught birds to repeat, "Hanno is a god;" though this did not answer his end, since, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (E).

*Commerce,
the army,
and the
marine
highly re-
garded at
Carthage.*

Commerce, the army, and the marine were the principal, if not sole objects of public attention at Carthage. These so entirely engrossed the minds of the people, that they had no inclination to pursue, nor indeed any great taste for the liberal arts and sciences. However, they must have known something⁶ at least of the rudiments of astronomy, since, without this, they could not have been tolerably versed in the art of navigation. Besides, the Edomites and Phoenicians were famous for being the greatest adepts, with the

⁴ Plut. in Proo. de Gé. Rep. c. 5. ⁵ Aelian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 30.

(E) The Carthaginians were famed their friends with the extremely addicted to cornish tunny-fish; another remarkable custom that deserves mention itself had a natural tendency to ingraft. The Carthaginians paid the greatest deference to their nobility, who held a most distinguished rank amongst them. Some persons were reputed nobles, or at least upon a level with them, on account of their riches & for Aristotle intimates, that wealth had a great influence at Carthage, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high posts of the state, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of distinction due for their superior virtue and merit. And, lastly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble ancestors.

At their wedding they enter-

⁶ Aristot. de Neph. lib. iii. infra. ⁷ Vide Liv. Polyb. Just. Cap. Non. Pro. Deinde etiam in Carthaginis saec.

Egyptians, in the celestial sciences, of all other nations. The Carthaginians therefore, their descendants, could not have been void of a competent knowlege herein. That they had some notion likewise of sculpture and painting, though the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to ascertain, is plain from the Dii Patæci they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewise from the pictures with which their ships of war, and other vessels, were adorned. As a seafaring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to supply the necessities or luxury of other nations, it is also probable that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts. The Sidonians and Tyrians were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical skill in very early ages, as we learn from Scripture; consequently the Carthaginians, one branch of their posterity, must have been so likewise. But the superb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture in their houses, great variety of arms, &c. in Carthage, put this point beyond dispute (F).

After what has been said, our readers will not expect to meet with many persons of erudition amongst the Carthaginians, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies allow. The Romans made great havock both amongst their public and private writings, and this from a principle of envy and malice. However, the names of some of their writers have been transmitted to posterity, the principal of which are the following.

Hannibal, the most renowned general Carthage ever produced, was well versed in the Greek language. According to Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, he wrote several pieces in it, particularly the history of Manlius Vulso's proconsulship in Asia.

Few persons of learning amongst the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian writers.

Hannibal.

Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Plut. in Scip.

(F) So famous was Carthage esteemed the most beat and elegant for their workmanship by gulf, invention, or exquilité that people. This is an undeni-
piece of workmanship was call- able proof that the Carthagi-
ed, even by the Romans, they nians had not only good mech-
implacable enemies, the Punic. nical heads and hands, but like-
Thus the Punic beds or couches, wise as all other nations,
the Punic windows, the Punic their original ancestors except-
wine presses, the Punic lan- ed, in every thing of that
terns, &c. were of all others kind (1).

(1) Valer. Max. Cato de Re Rati. Optima in Hist. Ital.

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Mago, another celebrated general of the Carthaginians, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military achievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman Senate held in such esteem, that, after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered these books to be translated into Latin, though Cato had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above mentioned are a further proof that learning was not entirely banished Carthage.

P&T

Philipus, though a Sicilian, born at Agrigentum, is esteemed by Polybius as a Carthaginian historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the Romans and the state of Carthage; but distinguished facts so palpably in favour of the latter, that, were his performance still extant; it would not be held in any great repute, especially after the stigma Polybius has fixed upon it. Fabius Pictor, though a good historian, yet in most points relating to the Carthaginians, was guilty of as great partiality on the Roman side. This we learn from Polybius, who, in order to arrive at truth, has steer'd the middle course betwixt them both.

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Himilco, a sea-officer, was sent by the Senate of Carthage to discover the western shores and ports of Europe. This task he performed, and wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the Public annals. Festus Avienus¹ has followed this author in his Description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates that he law the original journal itself in those annals. And it appears from Festus, that the Carthaginians were acquainted with the Britannic islands, which he calls *Oeifymnides*.

Hanno, another Carthaginian general, by order of the senate, sailed with a considerable fleet round Africa. He entered the ocean by the Straights of Gibraltar, made many important discoveries, and would have continued his navigation if provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his voyage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of a Greek version of which is still remaining. He is said to have done up to the neck of one tame lioness of several savage women, whom he intended to have killed. Marc Vibius, in opposition to his father, supposed him to have been older than the author of *Hecatæ*, but Mr. Dodwell so-

lidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If Pliny is to be credited, Hanno and Himilco above mentioned were contemporaries. It is certain there were two Carthaginian generals of these names in the time of Agathocles. Whilst Himilco steered towards the west, in order to discover new countries, Hanno took his course from Gades or Cadiz to the farthest parts of Arabia. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that the piece now known by the name of Pliny's *Periplus*, is not his, but was written by a Sicilian Greek. However, it cannot be denied that he penned a relation of his voyage, since this is often quoted by the ancients. This learned gentleman has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere betwixt the ninety-second and the hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad¹.

Silenus was an historian, who wrote concerning the Carthaginian affairs in the Greek language; from whence it should appear that he was a Greek. Some authors suppose him to have been the same with Philinus above mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof, and therefore we must consider them as two distinct writers.

Silenus.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic seat. Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and founder of study than the Carthaginians generally were. He composed several books, in one of which he endeavoured to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by Scipio.

Clitoma chus.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the Carthaginians, it will not be foreign to our subject to mention what Pliny tells us of Hanno; namely, that he was the first man who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The same author adds, that he was condemned, which must either imply in it death or banishment, upon account of this act; since his countrymen could not be persuaded, but that he, who had the power of softening the heart of beasts, must likewise be capable of softening the minds of his fellow-citizens in such a manner, as to become master of their freedom². This circumstance is related by Pliny, and it is either an argument of their extreme savagery, or his ex-

*Hanno, the
first who
tamed a
lion.*

¹ Dodwell. *Dissert. de Peripl. Hannos.* and. in *Lam. Geogr. Vet. Script. Graec.* Min. tom. i. edit. 1780. p. 102. 1781. No. xxii. &c. in *Cic. de M. Caton. 22.* — *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 11. Diog. Laert. in Clitomach.* — *See also the annals of Carthage, and the works of Hanno, vol. iii. p. 152.*

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extreme credulity. Some believe this person to have been the water Hanno above mentioned.

Amongst other inventions this nation was famous for, we must not forget that of the quadriremes, or four-oared galleys, which the ancients attributed to the Carthaginians. It is likewise probable, that they were the first who made cables for large vessels of the shrub spartum, which was a sort of broom: at least that they were the first who communicated this invention to the Romans. But this particular more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the Carthaginians, of which we shall now endeavour to give our reader's a succinct idea.

With regard to trade and navigation, no nation was ever more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The Mediterranean, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eastern parts they pushed their discoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatsoever, and to the westward, in all probability, farther. Britain and the Canaries were known to them; and, according to some, America itself; but this seems to be a conjecture without sufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on such occasions, the vast quantity of shipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had, for a long period, of being almost universally acknowledged masters of the sea, are most glaring proofs of the flourishing condition of their trade and navigation. From their Tyrian progenitors they inherited their genius for commerce; but in proceeding from them they eclipsed the glory of their ancestors themselves, so much that Pliny derives the origin of trade, not from the Phoenicians, but the Poeni or Carthagians. The natural fertility of its soil, the surprising skill of its artificers, together with its happy situation, rendered Carthage the centre of traffic, the great mart, not only of the Mediterranean, but even of the most remote nations.

The commodities they supplied other countries with in great abundance seem to have been soap and tarts of all kinds; divers jams, pickings, and high-sauces; wax, honey, oil, and divers wild beasts, whose natural produce of their country.

were utensils, toys, cables; all kinds of naval stores, and the colour from them called Punic, the preparation of which seems to have been peculiar to them. From Egypt they brought fine flax and paper: from the coasts of the Red Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones. From Tyre and Phoenicia, purple, scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, and costly furniture. From the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they imported iron, tin, lead, and copper. In fine, they purchased the superfluities of all nations at an easy price; and, by knowing the necessities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they sold these at their own rates; a traffick which brought immense treasures daily to Carthage, rendered this republic formidable to her neighbours, and enabled her to contend with Rome for the empire of the world¹.

Having thus given our readers a general idea of the extensive trade this republic was mistress of, we must now beg leave to remark, that no branch of their commerce seems to have been more beneficial to the Carthaginians than that they carried on with the Persians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians. These remote nations, besides other rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almost inestimable value, to Carthage; to which place they yearly resorted in caravans. These gems, from the plenty of them at Carthage, were called by the ancients Charchedonian or Carthaginian, as Pliny relates. From Polybius it appears probable, that the Carthaginian merchants, at the sale of their wares, had proper officers to attend them. No profession was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this state; a circumstance not to be wondered at, considering the advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men.

We shall close this section with taking notice of a remarkable custom observed by the Carthaginians, and the Libyans bordering on the sea-coast, in their traffic with each other, as Herodotus has related it.

"The Carthaginians having bound their freight, or Pillars of Hercules, traded with the Libyans in those parts in the following manner: after having run into some creek, they landed their goods; and, having them exposed on a

*The most
valuable
branch of
their com-
merce spe-
cified.*

¹ Christ. Hendr. ubi supra. Plin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2. Albin. Diop-
nosoph. lib. II. Hendr. Jun. Antiquit. lib. II. cap. 15. Cicilinus Cotta in Memorab. Alex. Vangali. lib. II. cap. 4. & Menaek Ben Israel en Esper. 88 Id. p. 15, 19, 20. 22. Amsterdam, en la Impression de Semmel Ben Israel Scopus. 1740. Plin.
Nat. Hist. lib. xxviii. cap. 7. 1740. idem lib. II. cap. 4.

men of land, returned on board their ships. They then caused a great smoke to be raised; at sight of which the Libyans came to the place where the wares had been left; and, laying down a quantity of gold, retired at a good distance from them. The Carthaginians went on shore a second time; and if the gold appeared to them sufficient, they carried it off, and sailed without delay; if not, they continued quiet on board for some time. The Libyans, finding them not yet satisfied, made an addition to what they had before deposited; and, if this proved insufficient, they continued exacting the quantity of gold, till the Carthaginians were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least injustice to the other. The Carthaginians did not touch the Libyan gold till it was of equal value with their wares; nor did the Libyans meddle with the Carthaginian merchandise, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was accepted, and taken away."

S E C T. IV.

The Chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian chronology the same with the Phoenicians.

THE Carthaginian chronology was at first the same as the Phoenician; and, in all probability, ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the Carthaginians kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the Tyrians did, cannot be doubted, when we consider how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir Isaac Newton imagines, that the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes did not absolutely prevail amongst the Romans even in the Augustan age, but thinks that Virgil might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of Carthage; which evidently supposes, that these records must have been infinite, that they, or at least some part of them, existed when he wrote; for he tells us, that Dido was a Carthaginian. Dido came from Tyre, and, according to Virgil, it is certain, from Sidon; and, though she died in epoch, at the destruction of Carthage, yet she must have had, otherwise, no opportunity to go to the destruction of that city.

It is difficult to ascertain the building of cities with exactness, and much easier in very early ages, though

it was of a later date at Rome; particularly amongst the Lydians, Syrians, and Phoenicians, as it was amongst their descendants the old Etruscans and Carthaginians.* This is evident beyond contradiction from Diodorus Siculus, Censorinus, Scaliger, and a famous inscription, where epoch is the foundation of Interamnia in Umbria, which Censorinus and Justus Fontaninus, in his *Antiquities of Hieron*, have given us[†].

The ancient year of the Phoenicians, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was certainly luni-solar; i. e. it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to supply what the twelve lunar months wanted of the solar year. At length the Egyptians of Thebes, according to Diodorus and Strabo, introduced the solar year; i. e. they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the course of the sun. Now, as the compensation by solar years did not take place even in Egypt till the time of Amemophis (though the difference betwixt the solar and calendar years was discovered in the reign of Ammon, the father of Sefac), i. e. about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the era of Nabonassar; nor amongst the Chaldeans or Babylonians till the commencement of that era; and, as Dido's departure from Tyre was at least coeval with, if it did not precede, the former of those events, the luni-solar year was, without dispute, observed by the Phoenicians, and afterwards by the Carthaginians.

Simplicius, in his commentary on the last of Aristotle's physical acroasis, affirms the Damascenes and Arabians, who were either neighbours to the power of the old Phoenicians, or intermixed with them, had the luni-solar year in use amongst them so late as his time. From whence it is not a little probable, that this was always the Phoenician and Carthaginian year.

Appian tells us in round numbers, that Carthage stood seven hundred years; but Solinus, with greater accuracy, determines its duration to have been seven hundred and thirty-seven years; i. e. thirteen or fourteen complete years precisely, or so many more, as there had been of another elapsed, which was not reckoned in the calculation. Now if, with Sir Isaac Newton, we suppose we may apply this term to have commenced with the capture or destruction of the city, which they have placed before the sixteenth year of Pygmalion's reign, at the beginning of the

Their year
luni-solar.

as was
that of the
Arabians
and Dam-
ascenes.

Menander
Ephesus,
Solinus,
Salmamus,
Petavius,
and Sir
Isaac
Newton,
agrees in
the era of
Carthage.

* Diod. sic lib. v. cap. 1. Censorin. de Die Solar. cap. vi. Zosimus. de Euseb. Temp. lib. x. p. 414. Diodorus Siculus. and Pausanias. de Antiqu. More. lib. i. cap. x. p. 192. 193. 194. 195.

† Simplic. apud Theodos. Histor. Civil. cap. 1. p. 102.

foundation of Carthage must be placed nine years higher, since Dido came to Africa in the seventh year of that prince's reign ; and consequently this happened seven hundred and forty-six years before the final destruction of that city by *Emilianus*. Since therefore Josephus, from Menander Ephesius, or, according to Tatian, Menander of Pergamus, intimates, that Carthage preceded Rome a hundred and forty years, a computation which almost exactly corresponds with Sir Isaac Newton and Salmakis ; and since the æra of Petavius does not differ from that of Solinus, as stated by the two great men above mentioned, above two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may consider these æras as the same. This is a strong presumption, that both of them approach very near the truth ; and therefore we may assure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, choose which of them they please.

S E C T. V

The History of the Carthaginians, from the Foundation of their City to the first Punic War.

*Cause of
Elisa's
departure
from Tyre.*

ELISA, known also by the name of Dido, fled from Tyre in the seventh year of the reign of Pygmalion, king of that city. Her flight is said to have been occasioned by the cruel and infatuate savagery of Pygmalion, who was her brother. This prince, to secure to himself the immense treasures of his uncle Sichæus, who had married his sister Dido, was the priest of Baalbek, and in consequence of that post, the second in the kingdom; found means to destroy him. The manner in which this was effected is differently related : Virgil says, that Pygmalion barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar; but Valerius and Coeranus intimate, that he dispatched him at a hunting-match, and then throwing him down a precipice, reported, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. However, as Sichæus was well acquainted with the violent and impetuous temper of his nephew,¹ he durst not wait for his return, but hid his riches underground, and, accompanied with the prudent and artful conseil of his wife, put himself into a ship, and made his escape. Thus waded, the determined

¹ See the history of Tyre, cap. vi. secundum in Solin. ibid. Newt. Cœl. Astron. p. 46. secundum Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2. secundum Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 12. secundum Plin. lib. xii. cap. 10. Ta-

to make her escape, and carry off those treasures which had prompted her brother to so inhuman an action: but she judged it proper for some time to amuse him, by dissembling her resentment, and preserving the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of assembling her friends, andconcerting with them the proper measures for speedily abandoning Tyre. The principal of these were her brother Barca, and several senators, who apprehending themselves in danger of being sacrificed by a prince who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the design she had formed, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her, with Barca and their effects, to Chartica, or Chartaca, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of residing there. To this proposal Pygmalion readily agreed, imagining that, by such a step, he should become master of what had so long been the object of his desires. Elisa, being thus supplied with men and ships, weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, where she commanded her men to throw overboard some bags filled with sand, which, she told them, contained the wealth of her husband Sichæus; and then intreated his manes to accept of those riches as an oblation, which had been the cause of his destruction. Then addressing herself to her companions, she gave them to understand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's resentment, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purposes, if ever they fell into his hands: by which means having fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach before he was apprised of her resolution^z.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his sister's subtlety, and being grieved that those treasures should be snatched from him, which he had long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives: but he was diverted from this design by the intercession of his mother, and the menaces of the impious college of gods, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obstruct, in any manner, the grand project Elisa was gone upon.

*Pygmalion
prevented
from pur-
suing Elisa*

^z Justin. lib. xxii. Tact. Annal. xvi. Tertul. in Psal. Si. Ral. lib. i. Appian. lib. Tarr. Euseb. in Dionys. Afr. & ipie Dionys. Herod. lib. v. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Vol. Par. lib. i. Virgil. Æn. i. & iv. Serv. in Verg. Ego. i. & iv. Theophil. Antiochen. apud Autolyc. lib. iii. Testut. Apol. Clem. Alex. Strom. Serbo, lib. xvii. Plin. lib. v. Apollon. Mart. Pasterch. Hendr. de Rep. Cart. lib. i. test. i. cap. 1.

*Elys
reached
first at
Cyprus.*

The first time the horizon touched at this same port in the island of Cyprus, peculiar Salamis, which was then in its infancy; since, according to Virgil and Servius, in conjunction with the Maratæ, Teucer, and Meninæ, Elisa's father seized upon Cyprus, or at least a part of it, not very long before when the former of those held Salamis. Here she met with a priest of Jupiter, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; an offer which she readily accepted. As this motion of the priest proceeded from an impulse, or rather command, of the deity, she looked upon it as a good omen, and settled the priesthood of Jupiter in that family¹.

*Cyprus
prosperous
from that time.*

It was a custom in this island, at the time of Elisa's arrival, for the maid to go, on certain days, before marriage, to the sea-side, there to look for strangers on their coasts, in order to prostitute themselves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. From thence the Tyrians selected a number, and carrying them on board, found them sufficient to their design of placing a new colony.

*These lands
in Africa.*

From hence they proceeded to the coasts of Africa, and landed in the province called afterwards Africa Propria, not far from Cyrene, a circumjacent city of great antiquity, already described. The inhabitants received them with demonstrations of joy, but, fearing their insufficiency, advised them to build a city upon the land which the fates had conducted them.

*Cyrene a good
abounding
and the
water.*

D. was Elisa's last name upon her arrival, to cultivate a good understanding with the natives, to which they were by no means inclined; nevertheless, even, on account of the advice given, they proverbs would flow to them from an establishment of amity and concord betwixt the two nations. She therefore chose of all a tract of land, for her weared Tyrian maidens, as will Appian, Virgil, Eustathius, and Theophylact, declare, and the Physicians imposed upon the women of Cyrene was made betwixt them, in memory of D. They desired for their intended habitation a place bounded as an ox's hide would encompass it. When the Africans at first laughed at it, but when they saw, in the plain, a city, girding it, they found it to be the land of Cyrene, and surrounded a large extent of ground, so that it built a citadel, from this inclosure called Cyrene, a city indeed, however, unanointed, and in complete confusion, which seems to owe its origin to the early and impious war the Romans, or the va-

¹ Virg. Æne. l. 8. q. 1. Apoll. in Eust. Apollon. Newton's Cænæol. p. 65.
Author unknown.

nity of the Greeks, who affected to deduce every thing, that favoured of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never so remote from them. Appian seems to insinuate, that at first Elisa met with opposition from the natives ; which may possibly be true, since it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the Tyrians possessed was, by their first agreement with the Africans, exacted from them, and paid for many years after^c.

The neighbouring people, at first invited by the prospect of gain, and with this view repairing to the Phœnician settlement to sell these foreigners the necessaries of life, in a short time were incorporated amongst them. The number of the Phœnicians being increased by this accession, Elisa followed the advice of the Utican ambassadors, who were sent to congratulate her upon her arrival, in the name of their state ; and built a new city, or at least much enlarged the old one, which could make no very considerable figure before. As the natives of the country were of the same sentiments with the Uticans in this particular, and gave the Tyrians all necessary assistance in building their city, and peopling it, Carthage soon became a place of great fame, and made itself respected by all its neighbours.

We are told by Justin, that in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen first spied an ox's head, which was indeed a symbol of fertility of soil, but at the same time presaged continual toil, and perpetual servitude, to the city. Discouraged by this omen, they removed to another spot, where in digging they discovered a horse's head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. Eustathius adds, that with the horse's head they found a palm-tree, or at least a branch of palm, which they considered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This circumstance determined Elisa to fix upon that spot for the situation of her city ; and in allusion to this the Carthaginians had, in after-times, a horse's head, or a horse and a palm-tree, so frequently upon the reverses of their coins^d (F).

Either
builds a
new city
there, or
enlarges an
old one.

*A horse's
head found
in digging
for the
foundation
of Car-
thage.*

The

^c Justin. lib. xviii. Virg. Aen. i. Eustath. in Dionys. African. Appian. in Lib. sub. int. Theocrit. Orat. xii. p. 366, 361. Serv. in Aen. i. Liv. lib. xxxix. Dica. in Perieg. Justin. lib. xix. Sil. Ital. lib. i. Vide Voss. Th. Gent. lib. i. cap. 12. ^d Mador. lib. xv. cap. 2. & lib. ix. cap. ii. Poth. in Dionys. Afric.

(F) Some of these coins, particularly of the silver and gold, are of exquisite workmanship, nothing at all inferior to any of the Greek or Roman. They are found in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers, in those parts of Spain the Carthaginians

Different
names of
Carthage.

The principal names of Carthage have already been given in the first part of this history: however, it may not be improper to remark, that the Carthaginians are sometimes called Sidonians, and their city Tyre, by ancient authors. It is likewise denominated by Stephanus, Oenufa or Oenusa; by Eustathius, Cadmea; and by Suidas, Aphrice. According to St. Jerom, the name Tarshish in Scripture sometimes denotes Carthage; and in one passage this word seems to plainly point at that city, that it is rendered by the Vulgate version Carthago*.

Dido sought
to mar-
riage by
Iarbas, a
neighbour-
ing prince.

Every thing conspiring with Dido's views, the new city, in a short time, grew wealthy and flourishing; which agreeable situation tempted Iarbas, a neighbouring prince, to attempt making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. For this purpose he desired, that an embassy of ten of the most noble Carthaginians might be sent him; which having obtained, he proposed to them a marriage with Elisa, or Dido, (for that, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country), threatening them with war in case of a refusal. The ambassadors, being afraid to deliver the message, told their sovereign with panic subtlety, that Iarbas desired some person might be sent him, who was capable of civilizing his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects, who would leave his relations for the conversion of such Barbarians. Here being reprimanded by the queen, she asked them, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in thy manner, which might be beneficial to their country? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that according to her own decision of the point, she ought to sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus ensnared, she called upon her husband Sichæus, with tears, and at last answered, that she would go whither her own fate, and that of her city called her. In the mean time she caused a pile to be erected in the farthest part of the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time she required for the execution of her design, killing many victims, as though she intended to sacrifice to, and appease the manes of her first husband before her second marriage, she ascended it. Then looking all around her upon the

* Virg. & Sil. Ital. gall. Sat. de Bell. Pugnath. D. August. de Unit. Eccles. Boek. xxvii. 72. Theod. Hieron. Euseb. in Chron. Boch. in Proph. Phil. & Chan. lib. 1.

the agianian armis possedent, and in Nauym, and the cabinets of the Sicily. Numbers of them may carious. Mr. Cook in Alcibiade. Forum.

spectators, she told them, she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her ; and immediately, with a dagger she had concealed for that purpose, put a period to her days ^f.

This is Justin's account of the death of that princess ; which even at first sight appears different from Virgil's. Cedrenus, and Sir Isaac Newton favour Virgil's notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that Æneas the Phrygian, after the destruction of Troy, came to Africa, and resided some time with Dido there ; but perceiving Iarbas, king of the Numidians, the Mauritanians, the Massyli, or the Getulians, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and resentment. This passage of Cedrenus seems greatly to support Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to Æneas and Dido's being contemporaries ; and likewise to evince a most material point, namely, that Virgil and Trogus, whom Justin epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir Isaac Newton advances concerning Dido's father, Mettinus, and Teucer's seizing upon Cyprus about the time of the Trojan war, renders Virgil's chronology likewise more probable than the generality of learned men are willing to allow ^g.

*Justin and
Virgil dif-
fer in their
opinion of
Dido's
death.*

How long Dido reigned at Carthage we cannot determine. What seems to be the best supported by ancient history is, that her brother Barca, and sister Anna, attended her from Tyre to Africa ; and that by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it should seem she was a woman of an uncommon genius. This appears from the artful manner in which she imposed upon her brother Pygmalion before her departure from Tyre, when, under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her husband's death, which, she insinuated, Tyre could not fail of perpetuating, she had the address to persuade him that her intention really was to retire to, and reside at Chartaca. That she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chastity, is attested by the best authors ^h.

How long monarchical government prevailed at Carthage, or what accidents befel this state in its infancy, or even what transactions it was concerned in for several ages, we cannot inform our readers ; since there is a chasm in the Carthaginian history for above three hundred years after the tragical end of Dido. In general, Justin gives us to understand, that Carthage was much agitated by civil dissensions,

*A chasm in
the history
of Car-
thage.*

^f Justin. ubi supra. ^g Cedren. ubi supra. Newton's Chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. ^h Reinec. Hist. Jul. tit. i. Sil. Ital. Just. ubi supra.

*Carthage
formidable
by sea in
the time of
Cyrus and
Cambyses.*

and harassed with the plague during part of this period. It likewise appears from Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius, that this republic had got a strong footing in Sicily and Sardinia, and made considerable acquisitions elsewhere, in very early times. Thucydides and Herodotus put it beyond dispute, that it was formidable by sea in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses; and that it must have performed many exploits upon that element, even before the reigns of those puissant monarchs. But this circumstance is not to be wondered at, it being scarce possible for any nation endued with such a genius, and possessed of so much power as the Carthaginians were, in some of the first centuries of their state, to have long remained in a course of inaction, either by land or sea. But almost all those exploits are now buried in oblivion. Had the writings of Philistius Syracuseanus, Ephorus, Timæus Siculus, Aratus, Trogus Pompeius, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of Diodorus Siculus, or any of the Punic historians, been now extant, we might have received sufficient light from them in many material points relating to the first ages of Carthage; but these have, for a long series of ages, been no more. The Punic archives would also have informed us of many particulars relating to the present history, had they existed. But these the Roman virtue, generosity, greatness of soul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny posterity, lest they should have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cause of truth. We are therefore obliged, though with great regret, to pass over the transactions of the Carthaginian state during this chasm, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work from these pieces and fragments of antiquity that have been handed down to us.

*The Car-
thaginians
and Etru-
scans de-
feated, in a
sea fight,
by the Pho-
œceans.*

We have hinted, that the Carthaginians were powerful by sea in the time of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, not to say much earlier. This truth appears from several considerations, particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans, and that of the Phœceans, a very considerable maritime power, in Cyrus's reign. The Phœceans, indeed, gained the victory; but their whole fleet was either sunk or disabled; insomuch that they durst not venture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of Cyprus, now Corsica, to the Carthaginians and Etruscans. The victors retired to Rhegium, and soon after to Oenotria, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrhenian or Etruscan sea, over-against Vella in Locania, which their ancestors had first peopled; and the Carthaginians, with the Etruscans, took quiet pos-

session

session of Cyrrus. Herodotus and Thucydides take notice of this sea-fight, as one of the most ancient to be met with in history. The combined fleet consisted of an hundred and twenty sail, and the Phocæan of sixty. According to Thucydides, the Phocæans built Massilia, now Marseilles, some time near this period¹.

Towards the conclusion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his uncle Cyaxares the second, the Carthaginians carried on a war with the neighbouring African princes, wherein they obtained great advantages; which, according to Justin, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general Machæus. Soon after the conclusion of this war, they sent a great body of forces, with a powerful fleet, to Sicily, under the command of the general, who reduced a considerable part of that island to their obedience: but, notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs abroad, they were much agitated by civil dissensions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the pestilence, that then made dreadful havock at Carthage, seems to have been the most terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, whom they endeavoured to appease with human sacrifices; and, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they scrupled not to offer up their children on this melancholy occasion. This detestable practice, so contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulses of nature, was far from producing the desired effect. Their arms were attended afterwards with ill success, though they had before been so fortunate in Sicily; for, immediately after the conclusion of the Sicilian war, transporting their forces into the island of Sardinia, they meditated an absolute conquest of it; but received a total defeat from the Sardi, in which above half of their army was cut to pieces. Enraged at so many disasters, they banished their general Machæus, with the remainder of the army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the last unhappy expedition to Sardinia, could not but resent such ungrateful treatment, especially as, by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the island of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa: he therefore sent a remonstrance to Carthage, in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him, and the troops, the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; which request not being granted, he threatened to do himself justice. But this threat making no impression on the

*They re-
duce part
of the island
of Sicily.*

*Banish
their gene-
ral Ma-
chæus;*

¹ Herodot. lib. i. Thucyd. lib. i. sub init.

who
fugis Car-
thago,

senate, after waiting some days for an answer, he embarked his army, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. When the troops had invested it, they appealed to the gods for the purity of their intentions, and declared, that their design was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but to demonstrate what wrong sentiments they had entertained of their valour. After they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and continent, they besieged it in form, and soon reduced it to the last extremity. The Carthaginians, involved in these deplorable circumstances, began to reflect upon their past folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themselves from their present difficulties, was the question. In the mean time Cartalo, the general's son, arrived in the city from Tyre, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and possibly have disposed him to an accommodation. This Cartalo had been sent by his countrymen to Tyre, with the tenths of an immense quantity of plunder taken by his father in Sicily, intended as a donation or offering to the Tyrian Hercules; and, passing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately: but this command, for the present, he evaded, under pretence, that he must perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an instance of filial duty. Machæus was not pleased with this answer; however, he took care to conceal his resentment, not daring to do any thing that might look like the least violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, Cartalo, having obtained leave for that purpose, he came out of the city to the camp, dressed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it should seem, the priest of Hercules. His father, far from being struck with such a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addressed himself to him in the following terms: "Hast thou the assurance, abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and splendid habit before so many miserable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed with distress? What mean these ensigns of peace and felicity at this juncture but to insult all of us? Was there no other place for thee to display thy pride and haughtiness in, but this spot of ground, which is the scene of thy father's misery and disgrace? How came you so lately to despise, with such an insolent air, the command, I will not say of your father, but the general of your fellow-citizens? And what are these gorgeous robes but the fruit of my victories? Since therefore you have considered me not as a father, but an exile, I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a general." He immediately ordered a high cross to be erected, and caused him to be crucified in

his

*and cruci-
fies his son
Cartalo.*

his sacred vestments, in the sight of all the citizens. Some ^{the city} days after this execution, the city surrendered; when, convening the senate and people, he complained of the injury and indignity offered him, and excused the hostile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice but necessity. He, for the present, made no alterations in the established form of government; but contented himself with putting to death ten of the senators, by whose advice the late violent resolutions against him and the army had been taken^k.

All things in Carthage being thus established upon the ancient footing, the republic enjoyed some repose. But this was not of long continuance; for Machæus, elated by the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and introduce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime. Upon which event Justin makes this reflection: "He was justly rewarded for the cruelty he had been guilty of both to his son and his country!"

We are told by Herodotus, that Cambyses, in the sixth year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the Carthaginians; but that he was forced to abandon his project, because the Phœnicians, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him, since the Carthaginians were their descendants. This is a proof, that the whole naval power of the Persian empire at that time, without the assistance of the Tyrians, was not able to cope with the Carthaginians^m.

In the year after the regisuge, the Carthaginians concluded a treaty with the Romans. They were the first nation the Romans were acquainted with out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen, in Polybius's time, on the base of a column, in the ancient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the Latin tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand itⁿ.

This treaty was signed twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece, and gives us to understand, that the whole island of Sardinia, and part of that of Sicily, were then subject to the Carthaginians.

^k Justin. & Oros. ubi supr. ^l Justin. ubi supr. ^m Herodot. lib. iii. ⁿ Polyb. lib. iii. p. 245, 246, 247, edit. Gronov.

The Phœnicians refuse to assist Cambyses.

*Yr. of Fl.
1845.*

A. C. 503.

The Carthaginians conclude their first treaty with the Romans.

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It appears, that the Carthaginians were very well acquainted with the coasts of Italy, had visited several of the petty nations in that country, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period.

It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and built forts or castles upon their making a descent in any country. For they are prohibited, by one article of the treaty, to erect any forts whatsoever in the country of Latium, even in case they at any time invaded it.

This treaty likewise makes it manifest, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the territories subject to, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; being, even at that time, jealous of the growing power of the Romans. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the rancour, which was one day to burst out in long and cruel wars; and which nothing could extinguish, but the ruin of one of these two most powerful republics.

The Carthaginians, according to Polybius, would not allow the Romans to sail beyond the promontory called the Fair Promontory (lying to the north of Carthage), lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, and consequently should be tempted to make a settlement. This, it must be owned, was a wise precaution, and shewed that the Carthaginians were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the Romans, long before they came to hostilities.

The republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it, chose Mago to succeed Machæus in all the high posts he filled. If we may judge of Mago's capacity from the good effects of his administration, he was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. Justin relates, that he was the first who introduced military discipline amongst the Carthaginian soldiery. In his time the dominions of Carthage were also much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches increased, and virtue alone was countenanced both in the army and state. In fine, he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar, succeeded him in his high employments.

Asdrubal and Hamilcar being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people

of Carthage thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against Sardinia ; which island it seems had revolted. Accordingly they landed their forces in that island, and for some time carried on a war against the Sardi ; but with what success is not recorded. However, we are told, that towards the close of it Asdrubal was mortally wounded ; by which melancholy accident the entire command of the forces devolved upon his brother. The Carthaginians made great lamentation for this general, and indeed with reason. For he had been eleven times one of the suffetes, and discharged the duties of that high function with great reputation ; and had triumphed no less than four times. Nay, the enemy themselves considered his death as a blow given the Carthaginians that might be attended with fatal effects.

About this period the Carthaginians determined to shake off the African yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay : to effect which purpose they declared war against them. The Africans having justice on their side, success attended their arms ; and notwithstanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage ; the principal article of the treaty importing, that the tribute at first imposed upon them for the ground on which the city stood should be continued^r.

*The Car-
thaginians
attempt to
shake off
the African
yoke.*

About this time Darius Hyrcanus, king of Persia, sent *Darius
Hyrcanus
sends an
embassy to
Carthage.* an embassy to Carthage, requiring the people of that city to abstain from human sacrifices, and eating dog's flesh ; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories ; and lastly, to furnish him with a body of auxiliary forces to serve in the war he had declared against Greece. Every thing was complied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all apprehensions of feeling his resentment were vanished, except this last article, from which the Carthaginians desired to be excused, as all their troops were then otherwise employed. Justin insinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the Carthaginians on this occasion. But this we can scarce believe ; since it does not appear from history that Carthage was ever subject or even tributary to the Persians. Besides, this author, from whom these particulars are drawn, affirms, Darius to have sent ambassadors to Carthage ; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his subjects.

Some few years afterwards, the Greeks of Sicily being harassed by the Carthaginians, sometimes, solicited Leon-

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da to send some Lacedæmonian forces to their relief¹. From Herodotus it appears, that they could not obtain their request; but that however Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, was so happy as to preserve his own dominions, and even to enlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the Carthaginians invaded Sicily almost immediately after this period, it is probable they did not sustain any very considerable loss in that war. It cannot be inferred from Herodotus, as we formerly imagined, that the Carthaginians were expelled Sicily by Gelon at this time; but only that the tyrant gained some advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and supported himself without the assistance of the Greeks, as the passage referred to implies.

Although the Carthaginians, on account of the wars they were then engaged, could not supply Darius with any succours against the Greeks, as has been just observed; yet it appears extremely probable from history², that an offensive and defensive league was formed betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince's reign: at least it is most certain, that an alliance was entered into between Darius's successor Xerxes, and the state of Carthage, not many years after, the Persian embassy was sent to that city. By the treaty concluded with Xerxes, the Carthaginians engaged to invade Sicily with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the Greeks from thence, as well as the continent of Italy, whilst that prince should march in person, with the whole strength of the Persian empire, against Greece itself³.

Before we enter directly upon the transactions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, we shall give a short account of the first footing this nation got in Spain. We are not told in history precisely when this event happened; nevertheless, there is great reason to believe from Diodorus Siculus and Justin, that it was very early, and before the times we are now speaking of. The former of these authors asserts, that the great nerves of the Carthaginian power were the mines of Spain; that by them they were enabled to equip such powerful fleets, and bring such formidable armies into the field; and, that by their assistance, they made such extensive conquests in Sicily and Africa. Hence it is apparent, that the first Carthaginian settlement in Spain must have long preceded not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himself. But this is rendered still more evident by Justin, who intimates, that this happened when the city of Gades, now Cadiz, was but of late standing, or

¹ Herodot. lib. vii.
lib. xi. cap. 7, 8.

² Justin. lib. xix.

³ Diodor. Sic.

even in its infancy. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding the new city beginning to flourish, attacked it with such force, that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their assistance. Both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, the Carthaginians readily granted their request, and furnishing them with powerful succours, not only repulsed the Spaniards, but likewise reduced almost the whole province in which their new city stood¹.

This happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of subduing the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by its rich mines. It is probable they could not push their conquests far at first, because they had to encounter very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great courage and resolution. It appears from the accounts of Livy and Polybius, that the greatest part of Spain remained unconquered till the wars of Hamilcar, Afdrubal, and Hannibal. Nay, it is very probable, that the Carthaginians could never have entirely reduced so many provinces as Strabo observes, had the Spaniards formed but one state, or mutually assisted each other: but as every canton, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with them, they successively fell a prey to the common enemy.

We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that the Carthaginians sent a colony into the island Ebusus or Eresus, now Yvica, on the coast of Spain, a hundred and sixty years after the foundation of their city. The city of Eresus, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was surrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. The houses were, for the most part, built in an elegant taste, and inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as Diodorus calls them; but the most numerous of these were the Phoenicians or Carthaginians. It is highly probable, therefore, that about this time the Balearic islands, at present known by the names of Majorca and Minorca, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. This can scarce be doubted, if we consider, that the name itself is Phoenician or Punic; that Ebusus is but seven hundred stadia, i. e. not a hundred miles, distant from the Balearic islands; that the Carthaginians possessed these islands from such remote antiquity, that their first arrival is prior to every thing related of them by any historian now extant, except their peopling the island Ebusus; and that, according to Vitruvius, Ebusus was reckoned to belong to the Balearic islands. We learn from Justin, that the first expedition the

*Greatest
part of
Spain un-
subdued till
the time of
Hannibal.*

*The Car-
thaginians
plant a
colony in
the island
Ebusus.*

Carthaginians made to Spain, was in order to assist the city of Gades; and as the Carthaginian fleet, sailing from Carthage to Gades, easily might, and almost naturally would, take Ebusus and the other Balearic islands in its way, there is great reason to believe that Gades was relieved, and Ebusus, with the other Balearic islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods, likewise, in which Justin and Diodorus maintain these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond; a circumstance which in some measure confirms our opinion. This admitted, it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their first descent in Spain about a hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early foreign transactions they were concerned in. As Carthage was so potent when Gades was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty or a hundred years older than the latter; and if so, Dido might have founded her city about the time of the Trojan war, since, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the destruction of Troy.

*Soldiers
from Spain
one great
source of
the Car-
thaginian
power.*

Another motive that induced the Carthaginians to make themselves masters of Spain, was the great number of recruits found in that country. The Spaniards were valiant, easily disciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With such immense treasure, therefore, as they annually drew from thence, and such bodies of the best soldiers as were continually formed for their service, it is no wonder the Carthaginians should make such prodigious efforts to enslave all their neighbours⁴.

*First settle-
ment of
the Car-
thaginians
in Corsica.*

As Diodorus Siculus has given us a description of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, Corsica, &c. in the same chapter, we think this authorizes us to speak a word or two here concerning the first Carthaginian settlement in the last mentioned island. Sardinia, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the Carthaginians, and had been so for some time, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the Romans. Corsica, likewise, we have reason to imagine, was possessed by them, either wholly or in part, in very ancient times. This island was called, by the Greeks Cyrenus, by the Romans and natives Corsica; had a beautiful large harbour, according to Diodorus, named Syracusum, together with two considerable cities, Calaris, or Aleria, built by the Phocœans, and Nicæa by the Etruscans. Notwithstanding the defeat of the Carthaginian and Etrus-

can fleets by the Phœceans, in the reign of Cyrus, the victory cost the latter so dear, that they were obliged to abandon Cyrus to the former. We are farther informed by Herodotus, that the Cynians, that is, the Corsicans, were one of those nations, out of which the Carthaginians formed that great army, with which they invaded Sicily in the days of Gelon. These, to omit many others that might easily be produced, are sufficient proofs, that the state of Carthage had part of Corsica, at least, in very remote times ^{v.}.

The small islands of Melita and Gaulos, now Malta and Gozo or Gozzo, being conveniently situated for trade, and having commodious ports, were indisputably subject to the Carthaginians. It appears from Diodorus, that these islands were at first peopled either by the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the Phœnicians.

We have already observed, that part of the isle of Sicily was subject to the state of Carthage before the beginning of the Persian empire; but, when the Carthaginians first carried their arms thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot take upon us to determine.

After the conclusion of the treaty with Xerxes, the Carthaginians, in pursuance of their engagements, made great preparations for war against the Greeks of Sicily both by sea and land. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that three years elapsed before they were completed, notwithstanding Xerxes sent vast sums of money from Persia for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, Liguria, and Corsica, and raised what forces they could in Africa. All things at last being in readiness, they sailed from Carthage with an army of three hundred thousand men, composed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thousand ships of war, with three thousand transports, not doubting to make an entire conquest of Sicily the first campaign ^{x.}.

The general who commanded in this expedition was Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, according to Herodotus, or of Mago, as Justin asserts, a person of great authority both in the army and the city, who had distinguished himself on many occasions in the service of his country. In his passage from Carthage to Sicily, his horses and chariots, with the vessels they were on board, perished in a storm, which the Carthaginians doubtless, being extremely addicted to superstition, considered as ominous. However, the general himself, upon his arrival at Panormus, now Palermo, en-

*Malta and
Gozo an-
ciently sub-
ject to
Carthage.*

*When the
Carthagi-
nians first
carried
their arms
into Sicily,
unknown.
The Car-
thaginians
make great
prepara-
tions for an
expedition
to Sicily.*

Vr. of Fl.
1868.
Ante Chr.
480.

*Hamilcar's
hor/ies and
chariots lost
in a storm.*

Herodot. lib. vii. ^x Diod. Sic. lib. xi. cap. 2. & Herodot. lib. vii. Ephor. apud Schol. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad Ver. Επειδή σίκανον.

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endeavoured to dissipate these gloomy apprehensions, by declaring that, since they were happily arrived in Sicily, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the uneasiness the late storm gave him was a fear that the Sicilians would escape the danger that threatened them.

*He invests
Himera.* After he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refresh them, and repair the damage his fleet had sustained in the late storm; and then marching to Himera, a city in the neighbourhood of Panormus, immediately caused it to be invested. Having formed the siege, he carried on his assaults with great vigour and assiduity; but was at last attacked in his trenches by Gelon and Theron, the tyrants of Syracuse and Agrigentum, with their united forces. The battle was long and bloody; but at last victory declared in favour of the tyrants. Hamilcar was slain, and the whole Carthaginian army either put to the sword, or obliged to surrender at discretion. The Carthaginian fleet likewise was totally destroyed: but of these memorable actions our readers will find a particular and distinct account in the history of Syracuse.

Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus have given different accounts of the death of Hamilcar, which it may not be improper to transcribe. According to the former, that general was sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him without arms, when he was killed by a body of Syracusan horse. But the latter intimates, that Hamilcar remained in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morning till the dusk of the evening, without intermission. Diodorus adds, that the Syracusans, without the least opposition, making up to Hamilcar, killed him, pursuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and set fire to the ships. Herodotus, on the contrary, gives us to understand, that Hamilcar was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that, seeing his troops routed, he himself rushed into the fire, and was entirely consumed. Hamilcar was by his mother's side a Syracusan, and, from what has been advanced by Herodotus, seems to have been esteemed as a person of uncommon merit by the Syracusans as well as the Carthaginians.

Polyænus, in his account of the Carthaginian general's death, differs in some particulars both from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus. According to this author, Gelon, finding himself not strong enough to attack the enemy, sent Pediarchus, the captain of his archers, who much resembled

^y Diod. Sic. & Herodot. ubi supra.

him,

him, dressed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer victims upon some altars near the spot of ground on which Hamilcar used daily to sacrifice. Pediarchus was attended by a party of his archers, clothed in white garments, with large sprigs of myrtle in their hands, as a sign of their going to perform so solemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with several arrows, which they were to discharge at the general as soon as he came within a certain distance. Hamilcar, suspecting no violence, came, as usual, with his attendants, to address himself to the gods, and was immediately slain. However this be, the Carthaginians and Syracusans, both ambitious of claiming so great a man, proclaimed, that Hamilcar, upon the defeat of his troops, vanished, and was never afterwards seen. The former, notwithstanding his misfortune, and their immediate resentment, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies were established^a.

The Carthaginians daily Hamilcar.

We must not omit observing, that Terillus, the son of Crinippus, invited the Carthaginians at this time into Sicily; and therefore was, in some respect, as well as Xerxes, the occasion of this fatal war. Terillus was tyrant of Himera; but being driven thence by Theron, the son of Aenesidemus, tyrant of Agrigentum, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the instigation of Anaxilaus, the son of Critineus, tyrant of Rhegium, who married his daughter Cydippe, he had recourse to the Carthaginians, being well assured they would not neglect so favourable an opportunity of enlarging their dominions in the island of Sicily. Hamilcar, in order to secure his fidelity, obliged him to send his sons as hostages. This account Herodotus tells us he received from the Sicilian writers of his time, who made no mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the Persians and the Carthaginians.

Terillus invites the Carthaginians into Sicily.

The greatest part of the Carthaginian prisoners, taken by Gelon, were put in irons, and reserved for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first was cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at Agrigentum, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the ancients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was overseer of the work. The Agrigentines, likewise, by their labour, sunk a fish-pond at

^a Polyen. Strat. lib. i. cap. 57. ex. 2. Herodot. abi supra.

a great

a great expence, seven stadia in circumference, and twenty cubits deep*.

Gelon compared to the most famous Greek command- By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, Gelon acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The Stratagem by which the Carthaginian army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and soul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to Themistocles, and the advantage accruing to the Greek nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of Platea. Be this as it may, we scarce find any description in history of an engagement wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Of the Carthaginian fleet one small boat only, with a few men in it, arrived at Carthage. These brought the dismal intelligence of the entire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The Carthaginians, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but, on the contrary, pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of Sicily almost without striking a stroke, were violently shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the army was already supposed to be at their gates; in short all orders and degrees of men were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, consternation, and despair.

The terms on which he grants peace. However, Gelon, upon their application, granted them a peace upon the following terms: First, that they should pay two thousand talents of silver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they should build two temples; where this treaty should be deposited, and at all times be exposed to public view. Thirdly, that, for the future, they should abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article evinces the humanity of Gelon's temper, and is a proof that the people of Carthage were obliged a second time to abolish that barbarous practice, for a certain period at least. For it cannot be doubted but they ratified this treaty, it being so advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of destruction.

The Carthaginians, having recovered their spirits by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's clemency and moderation, thought it just to shew their gra-

* *Died Sic. ubi supra.*

titude to Damareta, Gelon's wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to a happy conclusion. They, therefore, immediately after the peace, sent her a crown of gold valued at a hundred talents of that metal. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name Damareta, each being worth ten Attic drachmas. The Sicilians gave them the name of Pentalitra, from their being fifty pounds in weight ^b.

We must not omit one circumstance, which will serve as *An instance of Gelon's military capacity.* Upon his first approach to Himera, to succour the besieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the Carthaginian parties sent to forage in different parts of the island. Besides what they killed, they took ten thousand prisoners. These probably were the worst troops in the Carthaginian army; and therefore a stratagem, Frontinus relates Gelon to have been the author of, seems to bid fair to have been put in execution at this particular period. That prince, having a large number of prisoners, picked out the weakest of them, who were auxiliaries, mostly tawny, and of a very despicable appearance. These he exposed quite naked to the view of his soldiers, that they might have the most contemptible notion of the enemy ^c.

Besides the public works above mentioned, the Carthaginian spoils enabled Gelon to build two noble temples, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proserpine. A tripod of gold likewise, of sixteen talents, he caused to be made, and sent as a donation to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as an acknowledgement of his gratitude to that deity.

The Carthaginians, being incensed at Hamilcar, imputing the late disaster entirely to his conduct, notwithstanding the great services he had done the state on other occasions, resolved that his family should feel the effects of their resentment; and therefore banished his son Gisco, who retired to Selinus, where he died for want of ~~affaries~~. The Sicilian cities that joined the Carthaginians, on their first application to Gelon, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their ancient privileges granted, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them with severity ^d.

From this time to the close of the ninety-second, or the beginning of the ninety-third Olympiad, we scarce find

^b Idem. ibid: & Plut. Apophth. 175. & de Ser. Vindict. Deor. p. 552.
^c Frontin. lib. i. cap. 11. 18. ^d Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Ethan. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 11.

any mention of the Carthaginians in the Sicilian history. The last blow they received in Sicily was so terrible, that a peace of some duration was absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of their affairs; and it is natural to suppose, that Sicily would be the last they would, for a considerable period of time, choose for the scene of action. However, a fair opportunity at last offering, they embarked in another war, which, though pretty bloody and expensive, ended with better success to them than the former.

The Carthaginians render themselves independent in Africa.

In some parts of this interval, several remarkable incidents, mentioned by Justin, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, seem to have happened. The Carthaginians turned their arms against the Moors, Numidians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. They likewise shook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them so much uneasiness, and rendered themselves absolutely independent.

Have warm disputes with the Cyreneans.

They had warm disputes with the people of Cyrene, a Mediterranean city, the capital of Cyrenaica, built by the Theræans under Battus, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, which arose from the want of a regulation of limits between the two states. As the Cyreneans were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion. But at last the two nations, after having almost exhausted each other by a long and expensive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner.

Being so weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader, they consented first to a cessation of arms, in order to a pacification: afterwards it was agreed, that each city should appoint two commissioners, who should leave their respective towns upon the same day, and that the spot they met upon should be the common boundary to both states. In consequence of this agreement two brothers, called Philæni, were dispatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilst the Cyreneans proceeded at a slow pace. Whether this was to be imputed to the laziness of the latter, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the last is not improbable, since in those sandy regions, at certain seasons of the year, there are as violent storms and tempests as upon the sea. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering that in such countries, which are open and level, and have not even a shrub to break the force of the wind, sometimes boisterous weather must necessarily happen. And then the sand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into

the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, noses, &c; of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at least, if it does not put an entire stop to, their journey. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philæni acted perfidiously, by departing before the appointed time, and thereby imposed upon the others. Be this as it may, the Cyreneans, finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accused the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the stipulated time. They therefore insisted, that the convention agreed upon between their principals was broken; and declared they would suffer all extremities, rather than submit to such base and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the Philæni, with much seeming calmness and moderation, desired the Cyreneans not to talk in so lofty a strain, but propose some expedient, whereby their differences might be removed, promising at the same time to submit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then proposed that they should either retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or suffer themselves to be buried alive, not in the least imagining they would comply with so cruel a condition: but herein they were disappointed; for the Carthaginian brothers, without hesitation, consented to lay down their lives, and by that sacrifice gained a large extent of territory to their country. The Carthaginians ever afterwards celebrated this as a most heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting two altars, with suitable inscriptions upon them. Strabo informs us, that no traces of these were to be seen in his days, though the place still retained the name of the Altars of the Philæni. However, it is not to be doubted but the state of Carthage, as long as it existed, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the side of Cyrenaica.

The Egestines, allies of the Athenians, after the conclusion of the Syracusan war, of which they had been the principal occasion, by inviting the Athenians into Sicily, entertained strong apprehensions of being called to account by the Syracusans for the acts of hostility they had committed against them. About this time also the Egestines had some disputes with the Selinuntines about a regulation of limits, which at last broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two states. But the former, dreading the resentment of the Syracusans, and believing they would assist their enemy with a large body of forces, concluded a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the Egestines gave up all the points in dispute, the

Yr. of Fl.

1936.

Ante Chr.

412.

The Egestines
occurred
another
war be-
tween the
Carthagi-
nians and
Syracusans.

Selinuntines, not contented, made farther encroachments upon them ; which greatly irritating the Egestines, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, imploring their protection, both against the Selinuntines, and their confederates the Syracusans. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for some time debated at Carthage what course it would be proper to take. But at last, after mature deliberation, the people of that city, with a view to recover what they had formerly lost in Sicily, promised the Egestines assistance.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for a war with the Selinuntines.

However, the Carthaginians, before they directly engaged in this war, made an estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of forces requisite to carry it off with vigour. Afterwards they empowered Hannibal, whom they had appointed general, to raise an army equal to the undertaking, and to equip a suitable fleet. That their efforts on this occasion might be crowned with success, they also appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the island of Sicily with their whole power the beginning of the following spring.

Hannibal lands his forces in Sicily.

Hannibal, who was then one of the suffetes of Carthage, as soon as the season would permit, sailed for Sicily, and after a short passage, arrived on the coast of that island. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of Selinuntine horse, who gave immediate intelligence to their countrymen of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the Selinuntines dispatched couriers to Syracuse for instant relief. Hannibal, in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called the Well of Lilybaeum, where the city of Lilybaeum was afterwards built. Here he remained a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

Hannibal lays siege to Selinus;

According to Ephorus the historian, the Carthaginian army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse, though Timæus Siculus will not allow them to have been much above a hundred thousand. Be that as it may, Hannibal, after having made all the necessary dispositions for opening the campaign, began his march for Selinus. In his route he took Emporium, a town seated on the river Mazara, by storm ; and having surrounded Selinus with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the siege of that city. In order to push it on with the greatest vigour, he erected six high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His slingers and darters likewise greatly annoyed the besieged, by forcing them from many fortified posts. The Selinuntines, not

expect-

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expecting such a visit from the Carthaginians, and having long been disused to sieges, were struck with terror at the approach of so formidable an army, and the resolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reason to expect speedy succours, they defended themselves with great firmness. They all joined with the utmost unanimity in their efforts to repel the enemy, and destroyed vast numbers of their troops. So that the Carthaginians, for a considerable time, could not gain an inch of ground^f.

In order to inspire his army with courage Hannibal, promised them the plunder of the place, by which promise they were greatly animated. The Carthaginians, therefore, did not only repulse with unparalleled bravery all the sallies of the besieged, but, after an obstinate defence, likewise carried the place by assault. Many sharp actions happened *and takes it.* during this siege; but for a circumstantial account of them, we must refer our readers to the history of Syracuse.

Selinus being taken by storm, and the plunder of it given up to the soldiers, it is impossible to express the misery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exercised by the Carthaginians, who, it must be owned, on such melancholy occasions as these, generally acted as the most savage Barbarians. The women, indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, escaped the common destruction; but their safety was owing to the avarice, not compassion, of the victors: for, believing that these poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, set fire to the temples, and consume the treasure and valuable effects they expected to find in those places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a state of desperation. The ravages in the city continued most part of the night, insomuch that every place was full of blood, horror, and confusion. The surviving matrons had the mortification to see their daughters forced to be subservient to the brutal lust of the Barbarians, a spectacle which, with a sense of the dismal servitude in Africa, made them wish they had not survived their friends and relations. After sixteen thousand miserable persons had been cruelly massacred, and two thousand six hundred escaped to Agrigentum, the city was rased, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, amounting to about five thousand, who outlived this fatal day, were carried into captivity.

*An instance
of the Car-
thaginian
barbary.*

^f Ephorus & Timætus Siculus appd Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. ^g Diod. Sicul. ubi supra.

The Carthaginians plunder the temples at Selinus.

A few days after the city was stormed, three thousand Syracusans arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to Selinus; but understanding that the place was taken, they sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beseech him, that he would at least spare the temples. Hannibal replied, that, since the Selinuntines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the temples; therefore it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments. This answer is a clear démonstration of the Punic genius at that time, and exactly corresponds with what Diodorus has related of the Carthaginians in this particular. "These Barbarians (says that author) exceed all men in impiety: for other nations spare those who fly into temples, out of a principle of religion, not daring to be guilty of any act of violence in these sacred buildings, lest they should offend the deity: but the Carthaginians, on the contrary, moderate their cruelty to these persons, that they may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples themselves." The Syracusans, however, notwithstanding this answer, sent another embassy, and at the head of it Empediones a Selinuntine, who had always been in the interest of the Carthaginians, and had even advised his countrymen to open their gates to Hannibal at his first appearing before the town. The Carthaginian general received him with great affection, restored his estate, pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and even permitted the Selinuntines, who had fled to Agrigentum, to rebuild and repeople their city, and cultivate their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians.^b

Hannibal attacks Himera.

After the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched with his army to attack Himera. He was more particularly desirous of making himself master of this city, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been slain by Gelon, with above one hundred and fifty thousand Carthaginians. Besides, as he had already punished the Selinuntines for the insults they had offered his father Gisco in his banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the Himereans, for being the cause of that banishment. Having, therefore, detached twenty thousand Siculi and Sicanii, with a body of Carthaginian troops, to invest the place, he encamped at a small distance with forty thousand men, in order to cover the siege. His troops being flushed with their late success, behaved with undaunted courage, and battered

^b Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

the wall with their engines in several places at once : but Hannibal finding this method ineffectual, undermined it, after having propped it up with large pieces of timber, which being set on fire, great part of it fell to the ground. A warm dispute ensued, the Carthaginians making all possible efforts to enter the town ; and the Himereans repulsing them with great bravery : the besieged even repaired the wall ; and prevented the Carthaginians from carrying on their approaches for a considerable time.

Animated by these advantages, the Himereans resolved not to be any longer cooped up in their city, as the Selinuntines had been, but to endeavour, by one vigorous effort, entirely to dislodge the enemy. Having, therefore, posted detachments of their garrison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they made a sally on the besiegers with their whole remaining force, consisting of ten thousand men. The Carthaginians not dreaming that the besieged were capable of such an attempt, imagined, that the confederates of the Himereans had assembled all their forces, in order to oblige them to raise the siege ; which supposition throwing them into a panic, the Himereans at first bore down all before them ; but the Carthaginians, rallying, and being supported by Hannibal, drove them back to the town. The Himereans sustained a very considerable loss on this occasion, which greatly facilitated the reduction of their city. Amongst the rest fell three thousand men, the flower of their forces, who sacrificed their own lives to secure the retreat of their fellow-citizens¹.

The Carthaginian army, though victorious, was yet roughly handled. Ephorus says, they lost twenty thousand men in the first action, before they were pursued to Hannibal's camp ; though Timæus Siculus reduces this number to six thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the Himereans and Hannibal, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not mentioned by any historian. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginian army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of Hannibal's camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men.

After the late action, an accident happened, that, for some time, protracted the siege of this famous city : but all difficulties being at last surmounted, Hannibal made himself master of it. After which, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, he set sail for

The Himereans make a vigorous sally upon the Carthaginians

but are repulsed.

The Carthaginians sustain a great loss in this action.

Africa. The Siculi, upon their dismission, returned home ; as did likewise the Campanians : but the latter complained bitterly of the Carthaginians, because they thought themselves slighted by that nation, though they had remarkably distinguished themselves in the service at the siege of Selinus, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign ^k.

Hannibal leaves some troops to protect his confederates in Sicily.

Hannibal, upon his quitting Sicily, left a small body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at Carthage, loaden with the plunder he had carried off from Selinus and Himera. All the inhabitants went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations.

The Carthaginians make preparations for another campaign.

The Carthaginians were so elated with Hannibal's success, that they now meditated the reduction of the whole island of Sicily : but as that general's age and infirmities rendered him not so capable of commanding the forces alone, they joined in commission with him Imilcar the son of Hanno, one of the same family. These two generals did not only make great levies at home, but likewise hired great numbers of mercenaries. They received also a considerable body of auxiliaries from the princes and states with whom they were in alliance ; namely, the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. Besides all which, they took a body of Campanians out of Italy into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good soldiers, and such as might be entirely depended upon. After the junction of all these troops with the national forces, the Carthaginian army, according to Ephorus, consisted of three hundred thousand men ; but as Timæus, with more probability, asserts, of about a hundred and twenty thousand ; an army sufficient to over-run Sicily in one campaign.

They people a new city in that island.

The Carthaginians, in the interval betwixt the beginning of their preparations, and their embarking for the Sicilian expedition, collected from Carthage, and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant themselves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in Sicily, which was from thence called by the Greeks Therma.

Before the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transports, besides a numerous squadron of gallies, with the forces on board, sailed for Sicily, Hannibal sent forty gallies to reconnoitre the coasts, and gain intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a Syracusan squadron of equal force off Eryx, and immediately engaged them. The dis-

^k *Diodes Sicul. ubi supra.*

pute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to *The Syracusans defeat the Carthaginians by sea.* the Syracusans. Fifteen Carthaginian gallies were sunk; and the rest, by the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached Carthage, Hannibal sailed immediately with fifty gallies, designing both to prevent any ill consequences to the Carthaginians, and to secure the passage and landing of the army¹.

Upon his arrival, the whole island was alarmed; and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the Carthaginians, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arrived on the coast of Sicily, the troops landed near Agrigentum, and marched directly to that city.

Hannibal lands his troops in Sicily, and advances to Agrigentum; *which city he besieges, but meets with a warm reception.* The Syracusans, apprehensive of an invasion from Carthage, had sent to the Greeks of Italy, and the Lacedæmonians, to solicit succours; and dispatched expresses to all the Sicilian cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. The Carthaginians, upon investing Agrigentum, divided their army into two bodies. One of these, consisting of forty thousand Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall, and an entrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the fallies of the besieged. These precautions they thought necessary, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance. The Agrigentines had forced all who were capable of bearing arms, to assist in the defence of the place; and had besides received a reinforcement of five hundred men from Gela, under the conduct of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, who was in high esteem at that time on account of his country, according to Timæus Siculus. Eight hundred Campanians also, who had formerly served under Imilcar, were taken into the service of the Agrigentines, and defended the hill Athenæum, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost importance. Imilcar and Hannibal, having viewed the walls, and found a place where they thought it would be no difficult task to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers were brought against the city, of a monstrous size. The first day out of these they made an assault; and, after having cut off many of the besieged, sounded a retreat. However, the next night the Agrigentines sallied out, burnt the engines,

¹ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra, atque Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud eund. ibid.

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*Theron's
monument
destroyed by
lightning.*

destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon Hannibal, intending to storm the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and stately monuments, standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls: but whilst they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by Theron's monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt; which, by the advice of the soothsayers, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time ried off a great number of the soldiers, and Hannibal himself. The Carthaginian soothsayers interpreted his disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the deceased. Wherefore Imilcar, having, as he imagined, atoned for the sacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, by ordering the demolition of the tombs to be discontinued, renewed the assaults with more vigour than ever. He filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means his engines were brought nearer the place; and played upon the town in such a manner, as reduced the besieged to great distress.

*The Syra-
cusers send
an army to
oblige him
to raise the
siege;*

*which is
attacked by
the Car-
thaginians;
but defeats
them.*

In the mean time the Syracusans, taking into consideration the deplorable condition of Agrigentum, and fearing it would undergo the fate of Himera and Selinus, began to think earnestly of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from Italy and Messana, and being joined by the Camarineans, Geleans, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These judging sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders to Daphneus their general to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the Agrigentines; a fleet of thirty gallies, which sailed close by the shore, at the same time keeping pace with him. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, detached a strong body of troops to give them battle in the plains of the river Himera. In consequence of these orders, and the approach of the Syracusans, a general action soon ensued. After a sharp dispute, the Syracusans worsted the Carthaginians, and pursued them to the walls of Agrigentum: but Daphneus, fearing lest Imilcar should take advantage of the confusion his troops

were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrest the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened to the Himereans on the like occasion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the spot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate possession of. The Carthaginians lost six thousand men in this action.

The Carthaginians escaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption of the Agrigentine commanders : for the besieged, seeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmost confusion, immediately concluded that they were routed ; and therefore pressed their officers to fall out upon them without loss of time, occasions that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, ^{The Agrigentine commanders guilty of a false step, which occasions the loss of the place.} deaf to these solicitations, and would not permit a man to stir out of the town. To what motive such an unaccountable procedure was to be attributed is hard to say ; however, the fugitives were hereby saved, and arrived safe in their other camp. This fatal step could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loss of the city.

Upon Daphneus's arrival, a great part of the garrison, with Dexippus at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every individual expressed his displeasure, that so fair an opportunity had been lost. Great disputes arose, insomuch that four of the Agrigentine commanders, at the instigation of Menes, a Camarinean, were stoned by the enraged multitude, and a fifth, called Argus, only on account of his youth, escaped. Dexippus himself was likewise highly reflected upon, and lost much of the reputation he had before acquired. After the council broke up, Daphneus formed a design to attack Imilcar's camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he altered his resolution. However, having blocked up the avenues to it, the Carthaginians soon found themselves reduced to such distress for want of provisions, that part of their army began to mutiny: but Imilcar soon after intercepting a large Syracusean fleet, laden with provisions, of which he sunk eight ships, and drove the rest on shore, this event altered the face of affairs. The Carthaginians were relieved, and the Agrigentines reduced to the last extremity ; for, at the beginning of the siege, when ill success attended the Carthaginians, they had wasted their corn and other provisions. They were also deserted by the Campanians in their service, who, for fifteen talents, went over in a body to the Carthaginians. Dexippus the Lacedæmonian likewise, accord-

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ing to Diodorus, was said to have been bribed with the same sum; for he advised the Italian commanders to withdraw their troops from the town, insinuating, that they were likely to be starved there; whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage in some other part. They complied with this advice, and left the Agrigentines to shift for themselves.

Imilcar enters the city.
The Syracusans soon after abandoning the place, Imilcar entered it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, not sparing even such as had fled to the temples. Among these was Gellias, a citizen famous for his wealth, munificence, and integrity, who set fire to the temple of Minerva, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. Gellius, according to Diodorus, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; secondly, the sacrilegious pillage of the vast treasure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuse of his own body.^p

and pillages every part of it.
Imilcar, having pillaged every part of the city, found himself master of an immense treasure, the spoils of a city, which was one of the most opulent in Sicily. To give our readers some idea of Agrigentum, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses, remarkable for their elegance. Empedocles the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, mentions a memorable observation of his fellow-citizens: "The Agrigentines squandered away their money so excessively every day, that they seemed to believe it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever." The most valuable part of the plunder, together with the famous bull of Phalaris, Imilcar sent to Carthage; every thing else he caused to be sold under the spear.^q

The people of Syracuse, being prodigiously alarmed at the taking of Agrigentum, passed a decree for raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, who with a powerful army hovered upon the frontiers. Imilcar, upon his reduction of the place, put his troops into quarters of refreshment, that they might be ready to enter upon action early the following spring. The Agrigentines made great complaints against the Syracusan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemy's hands. This clamour raised such disturbances in

¹ Diod. Sic. ubi supra. ^p Idem ibid. ^q Idem ibid. & Cie. lib. iv. in Ver. cap. 23.

Syracuse as gave Dionysius at last an opportunity of seizing upon the sovereign power. That tyrant afterwards proved a great scourge both to his own subjects and the Carthaginians¹.

The Geleans, receiving intelligence that the Carthaginians intended to open the campaign with the siege of their city, and in the mean time quarrelling among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse; upon which Dionysius immediately marched to their assistance with two thousand foot and four hundred horse. The Geleans were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent ambassadors to Syracuse to return thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending him thither. Soon after he was appointed generalissimo of the Syracusan forces, and those of their allies, against the Carthaginians. This station enabled him to exhibit many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs.

The Carthaginian forces, under the command of Imilcar, having, on the return of spring, rased the city of Agrigentum, made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off such an immense quantity of plunder as filled their camp. Imilcar then marching with his whole army against Gela, took post on the banks of the river Gela; there ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, he fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall, not doubting but Dionysius would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The Geleans defended their town in a very gallant manner, making several sallies, and repairing the walls when the Carthaginian rams had made a breach in them. In short, they behaved with such resolution, that though their city was but indifferently fortified, they held out a long time against a formidable army, without receiving the least assistance from their allies².

In the mean time Dionysius, by the junction of his mercenaries, and succours from Magna Græcia, with the Syracusans, almost every one of whom, capable of bearing arms, he obliged to list under his standard, formed an army of fifty thousand foot, according to some, though Timæus Siculus makes them only thirty thousand, and a thousand horse. With these forces, and fifty sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of Gela, and encamped near the sea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he proposed to prevent the enemy from foraging,

¹ Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

² Idem ibid.

The inhabitants abandon the place.

Dionysius secures their retreat, and that of his army.

*Yrs of Fl.
1944.
Aste Chr.
404.*

Imilcar plunders Gela and

Camerina. A peace concluded between the Carthaginians and Dionysius.

whilst his horse and shipping should intercept all provisions coming to the Carthaginian camp from any part of their dominions. This scheme proving ineffectual, he attacked the Carthaginian camp, but was repulsed with considerable loss. After this unsuccessful attempt he summoned a council of war, consisting of his particular friends, the result of whose deliberations was, that since the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to risk the issue of a battle; and therefore, that the inhabitants should be persuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives. Accordingly a trumpet was sent to Imilcar, to desire a cessation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making their escape. Towards the beginning of the night most of the citizens left the place, and himself with the army followed them about midnight. To amuse the enemy he left two thousand of his light-armed troops behind, commanding them to make fires all night, and set up loud shouts, as though the army still remained in the town. At day-break these took the same route, and pursued their march with great celerity. By these stratagems Dionysius preserved the inhabitants of Gela from insult, and secured the retreat of his army.

Imilcar, finding the city deserted by the greatest part of its citizens, the garrison, and Syracusan army, immediately put to the sword or crucified all that fell into his hands. He likewise plundered it, in the same manner as Agrigentum, and then moved with his forces towards Camarina. Dionysius had before drawn off the Camarineans, with their wives and children, to Syracuse, by apprising them of Imilcar's speedy approach. Their city underwent the same fate with that of Gela.

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague which broke out in it, and not thinking himself in a condition to continue the war, sent a herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Carthaginians. The articles of it imported, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should possess the countries of the Sicani, the Selinuntines, the Himereans, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which not-

withstanding should be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontini, Messanians, and all the other Sicilians, should live according to their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independency, except the Syracusans, who should continue in subjection to Dionysius. These articles were afterwards ratified to the satisfaction of both parties. About this time the plague made great ravages in Africa⁴.

Before the Carthaginian army retired from Sicily, Imilcar separated the Campanians from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. Soon after Dionysius was reduced to such extremities by his subjects the Syracusans, that he was advised either to kill himself, or by one desperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those places which were subject to the Carthaginians. But Philistus the historian, who for a considerable time had supported Dionysius, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant adopting the sentiments of Philistus, resolved to part with life rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of this resolution he dispatched an express privately to the Campanians, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated himself from the difficulties in which he was involved, and afterwards became a terror both to his own subjects and the Carthaginians⁵.

Having disarmed the inhabitants of Syracuse, and by that step confirmed his sovereignty, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the Carthaginians. For he had struck up the late peace with Imilcar so suddenly, with no other view than to amuse him till he had established his authority, and found himself in a condition to attack the Carthaginian conquests in Sicily with a powerful army. The motives that seem immediately to have excited him to this war, were two: first, to prevent the future desertion of his subjects, many of whom retired every day, with all their effects, to the Carthaginian garrisons, as well as to recover those he had lost, since he imagined, that upon a rupture, the cruel treatment of the Carthaginians would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great prospect of success he entertained at that particular juncture, on account of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the Carthaginian territories. As he knew the Carthaginians to be the most potent nation in the West,

Dionysius
in imminent danger of losing the sovereignty at Syracuse.

But delivered from thence by the Campanians.

He makes preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians;

and fortifies the hill Epipola. and that, if an opportunity offered, they would most certainly besiege Syracuse, he fortified the hill Epipolæ, which commanded the town. This work he performed at a vast expence, with the assistance of sixty thousand men, and six thousand yoke of oxen. Diodorus tells us, that on this occasion the tyrant not only superintended every part of the work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much hardship and fatigue as the poorest labourer. By which means the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day, and part of the night, and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a wall thirty furlongs in length, and of a proportionable height; which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper distances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost impregnable ^x.

Having put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was soon to engage. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by these means they would be more capable of distinguishing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. He therefore prepared an hundred and forty thousand bucklers, the same number of swords and helmets, fourteen thousand cuirasses; besides other arms in abundance, of various forms, a large train of battering engines, and an infinite number of darts. The art of making such engines was, according to Diodorus, now first brought to Syracuse; but the artificer's name is not recorded. As he was ambitious of being superior to the Carthaginians by sea, he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from Italy. Mount Ætna also supplied him with many fir and pine trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready for sea; to which he added a hundred and ten old galleys, that were thoroughly repaired. He likewise caused an hundred and sixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and covered them with the planks of a hundred and fifty old useless vessels. The Syracusans themselves manned half of the capital ships, and the rest were navigated by foreigners who had entered into Dionsius's service.

We must not omit observing, that Dionysius is said by *Diodorus* to have invented the quinqueremes about this time^y.

The tyrant, having finished his military preparations both by sea and land; and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper to impart his design to the Syracusans. He accordingly convened the senate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the Carthaginian territories instantly, and even without a previous declaration of war. The assembly, moved by a pathetic speech he made on this occasion, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of justice, readily concurred in his opinion. War was therefore unanimously agreed on; and measures were immediately taken for commencing hostilities.

Upon breaking up of the assembly, Dionysius abandoned to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians, who resided in Syracuse, and traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ships at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and pillaged their houses in a most outrageous manner. This example of perfidiousness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. The Greeks, inhabiting several cities under the jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, not satisfied with stripping them of their effects, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to treat the bodies of those miserable wretches with the utmost ignominy and barbarity.

No power contributed so much to the support of the Syracusans in this war, as the Lacedæmonians. From Sparta Dionysius received as many recruits as were necessary for completing his troops; which, because he apprehended the war with Carthage would be long and bloody, he resolved should be very numerous. That he might be entirely at liberty to act against the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the Rhegians and Messanians. To engage the latter more firmly in his interests, he ceded a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill bestowed at such a critical conjuncture. For the Messanians, being a sea-faring people, and pretty powerful, would have given no small diversion to his arms, had they joined with the Carthaginians^z.

Dionysius finding the vast project he had formed now ripe for execution, dispatched a herald to Carthage, with a letter to the senate and people, importing that, if they did not immediately withdraw their garrisons from all the

He acquaints the Syracusans with his design.

He falls upon the Carthaginians in Sicily.

He concludes a peace with the Rhegians and Messanians.

^y Diod. Sic. ubi sup. cap. 7. ^z Idem ibid.

The Carthaginians levy forces to oppose Dionysius. Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. This latter being first read in the senate; and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at Carthage, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, though in want of all necessaries, they were not intimidated, but sent officers into Europe, with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence. In the mean time they dispatched orders to their garrisons in Sicily, to observe the motions of the Syracusan army; and appointed Himilco commander in chief of all their forces^a.

Dionysius invests Motya. Dionysius, without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians, in pursuance of the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount Eryx, near which stood the city of Motya, a Carthaginian colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of vast strength, and might be justly esteemed as the key of Sicily. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a considerable blow given the Carthaginians. He was joined on his march by the Greeks of Gela, Camarina, Agrigentum, Himera, and Selinus, out of the ardent desire they had to recover their liberties, and shake off the Carthaginian yoke. The Motyans, from their attachment to the Carthaginians, expected the storm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from Carthage, they were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. In this city the Carthaginians kept all their stores and provisions; Dionysius, therefore, besieged it in form; and, having left his brother Leptines to carry on the attacks, marched with the greater part of his army, to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians. He destroyed the territories of the Solantines, Panormitans, and Ancyreans, with fire and sword, and cut down all their trees. Then he invested Egesta and Entella, most of the other towns having opened their gates at his approach. But they baffling all his efforts, he returned to Motya, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour.

Himilco sends ten gallies from Carthage, to destroy the vessels in the harbour of Syracuse. In the mean time Himilco ordered his admiral to sail from Carthage with ten gallies, and destroy all the vessels he should find in the harbour of Syracuse. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being discovered by the enemy; and, having sunk most of the ships he found there, returned to Carthage without the loss of a man^b.

Diod. Sic. ubi sup. cap. 7.

^b *Idem ibid.*

Though the Motyans found themselves greatly annoyed by Dionysius's rams, and the continual volleys of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention, they made a very gallant defence. They posted soldiers, armed in coats of mail, upon the masts of their ships, who threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch, upon the engines, which immediately set them on fire. But the Sicilians extinguished the flames, *Dionysius attempts to storm Motya.* made several large breaches in the walls, and assaulted the town with such fury, that they bore down all before them. The contest now was extremely bloody; for the besiegers, thinking themselves sure of carrying the place, and being desirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received, fought with incredible fury: and, on the other hand, the besieged, knowing they must fall, victims to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by storm, resolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in despair. At last, however, the Sicilians prevailed, and entered the city sword in hand, thinking they should now speedily accomplish their design. But in this expectation they found themselves deceived; for the Motyans had finished a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal strength with the walls themselves, which there was a necessity of carrying, before Dionysius could make himself master of the place. The besieged therefore, after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themselves to the defence of this, and gave the Sicilians a warmer reception here than they had met with before, destroying vast numbers from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the adjoining houses. However, the Sicilian towers being of a vast height, by their assistance the besiegers advanced their scaling-ladders to the neighbouring houses, and fought hand to hand with the besieged. The dispute now was extremely sharp and obstinate: for the Motyans having new life and vigour infused into them by the sight of their wives and children, who, in case of any disaster, they knew would be treated in the same barbarous manner, as their countrymen, taken prisoners by the Greeks, had already been, resolved either to conquer or die. They rushed therefore with a fury little inferior to madness into the midst of their enemies; threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the scaffolds they had erected; and repulsed Dionysius with such slaughter, that he was at last obliged to sound the retreat.

The attack was repeated for several days successively in the same manner, but without any effect; for the Motyans, *being*

Vr. of Fl. being accustomed to this way of fighting, constantly repulsed Dionysius, obliging him every evening to retire. At last Archylus the Thurian,^{1952.} at the head of a chosen detachment, in the dead of night, getting over the shattered houses without noise, possessed himself of a very commodious post, where he made a lodgment, till Dionysius sent another strong body of troops to support him. The Motyans, finding themselves surprised, made their utmost efforts to dislodge the enemy, so that a fierce encounter ensued.

*Is vigorously
assailed;
but at last
takes the
town.*

But at last the Sicilians, overpowering them with numbers, gave Dionysius an opportunity of rushing into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the Sicilians, to retaliate the former cruelties of the Carthaginians, put all the inhabitants to the sword, except those who took sanctuary in the Greek temples. Dionysius, being desirous of selling them for slaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to restrain the violence of the soldiery, ordered the public crier to declare, that he would have the Motyans fly for refuge thither. This expedient put a stop to the slaughter; however, the army plundered the town, carrying off an immense quantity of wealth and treasure. After the reduction of Motya, the tyrant ordered Leptines to make incursions into the territories of Entella and Egesta, he not being in a condition at that time to form the siege of those places; and then returned, with his army, to Syracuse.

The Carthaginians, having been surprised by Dionysius, in breach of the faith of treaties, found it impossible to force him to raise the siege of Motya. However, they were willing to attempt not only this, but even to carry the war to Syracuse. For this purpose, Himilco, receiving advice, that Dionysius with his fleet had entered the harbour, gave orders to have a hundred of his best gallies manned immediately. With these, as the Syracusans had no squadron out at sea, to obstruct his design, he entertained hopes either of destroying or making himself master of the tyrant's whole naval force by surprize at one single blow.

*Himilco
makes an
attempt to
surprise
Dionysius's
squadron in
the harbour
of Syracuse.*

Setting sail from Carthage, he arrived in the night on the coast of Selinus, and next morning, by break of day, at the port of Motya, where the Syracusan gallies were riding at anchor. These he immediately attacked, and some of them he destroyed. Dionysius, alarmed at this unexpected visit of the enemy, and seeing, by the dispositions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being destroyed, ad-

vanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding that the Carthaginians had possessed themselves of the passage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to stand out to sea; because the mouth being narrow, a few gallies might engage a much superior number with great advantage. He commanded, therefore, his land-forces to draw them over land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour; and by this contrivance they were preserved.

In the mean time Himilco, pressing upon those gallies that lay next to him, made all possible efforts to take or destroy them; but was vigorously repulsed, and lost many of his men by showers of darts thrown from the decks. The Syracusan army likewise greatly annoyed him, by repeated volleys of arrows from their battering engines. Himilco therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprise to bear, and judging it imprudent to venture an engagement with a squadron so much superior to him in strength, left the Motyans to themselves, and returned to Africa⁴.

In the following spring Dionysius, drawing his forces out of Syracuse, made an inroad into the Carthaginian territories, ravaging and destroying the country in a dreadful manner. The Halicyæns, terrified by this irruption, sent ambassadors to the tyrant's camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of Egesta, remaining firm in their fidelity to Carthage, set him at defiance. He therefore advanced with his army, and laid siege to the place; but the Egestines making a vigorous and unexpected sally upon the besiegers, put the advanced guards in disorder, and set fire to their tents; a circumstance which occasioned great consternation throughout the camp. Several soldiers, endeavouring to extinguish the flames, lost their lives, and many horses were burnt. Dionysius, soon after raising the siege, scoured the country in the same hostile manner as before; and, whilst Leptines was observing the motions of the enemy by sea, continued his depredations without opposition.

Dionysius makes an inroad into the Carthaginian territories.

Soon after the reduction of Motya, intelligence of that melancholy event arrived at Carthage; and the year following Himilco was appointed one of the suffetes. The progress of Dionysius's arms alarming the senate, they resolved to do their utmost to make head against him; and therefore dispatched officers into all parts of Africa and Spain to raise forces. When they had completed their preparations,

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they found their army to consist of above three hundred thousand foot, four thousand horse, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the command of Mago, was composed of three hundred gallies, and more than six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. This is the account given by Ephorus: whereas Timæus affirms, that not above a hundred thousand Carthaginians acted in Sicily this campaign; but that these, upon their landing, were joined by three thousand Sicilians. After the troops were embarked, the transports standing out to sea, outwaited the gallies, which kept close to the coast of Africa, and, without any memorable accident, arrived off Panormus. But, being destitute of a convoy, they were attacked by Leptines, whom Dionysius had sent out with thirty sail against them for this purpose. After a short dispute, the Syracusan admiral sunk fifty of them, with five thousand men and two hundred chariots on board; but upon the approach of the Carthaginian gallies he retired. Himilco, therefore, landed his troops at Panormus without opposition, seized upon Eryx, and advancing to Motya, reduced it, before Dionysius could send any forces to its relief.

*Leptines
defeats the
enemy by
sea.*

*The Car-
thaginians
retake
Motya.*

The Sicilian troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the Carthaginians, in order to decide the fate of Sicily as soon as possible; but Dionysius thought it more advisable to abandon the open country to the enemy, because he was at a great distance from his allies, and began to be in want of provisions. He exhorted the Sicani to leave their cities, and join the army, promising them, after the conclusion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own; and even to permit as many as were inclined, to return to their former habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, listened to his proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to Himilco, together with the Halicyaeans, who sent ambassadors to Carthage, to renew their ancient alliance with that state. Dionysius, disappointed in the reinforcements he expected, marched with great precipitation to Syracuse, plundering the country through which he passed. Himilco then advanced to Messana, with an intention to possess himself of it; since the haven being capable of receiving all the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of above six hundred sail, would be a very commodious station. Before he invested the town, he concluded a treaty with the people of Himera and Cepha-

* Diodor. Sic. lib. i. cap. 10. ex. 2.
Boutin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 1. ex. 2.

Iodium, and reduced the city of Lipara (G), the capital of the island of that name, laying it under contribution, by which he exacted from the inhabitants thirty talenis. Moving with his forces towards Messana, his fleet at the same time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of Peloris, now the Capo di Faro, about a hundred stadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the Carthaginians, they could not agree about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, considering the great want of their horse, which were then at Syracuse, knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that they had not time to make the necessary preparations for their defence, were for submitting to the enemy. Others had so great an aversion to the Carthaginians, that they were resolved to defend the place to the last extremity, rather than submit to such barbarians.

In order to prevent any incursions of the enemy, the people of Messana sent a strong detachment, consisting of the flower of their troops, towards the promontory of Peloris, who for some time defended the frontiers. But Himilco, justly concluding, that the garrison must be greatly weakened by the absence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby left so very much exposed on the sea-side, that it would be no difficult matter for his fleet to enter the port, commanded two hundred gallies to advance towards the town. His orders were instantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing fresh, they were carried with a full sail directly into the harbour. The Messanians, being

*and ad-
vance af-
terwards
to Messana.*

*Which
place His
milco in-
veighs,*

Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(G) Lipara was the principal of the Aeolian islands; in number seven, not far from the northern coast of Sicily. The names of these islands were Strongyle, Eronymos, Didyme, Phoenicusa, Hieria, Vulcania, and Lipara (1). According to Diodorus, both the island Lipara, and its capital city, received their name from Liparus, the son of Auton (2); king of these islands, who built the city Lipara, and cultivated all

of them. The Liparese were anciently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by the great revenue brought them in by alum, with which mineral their island (3) abounded. The island is now called Lipari, and has its capital so fortified, that it stood a short siege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an Imperial detachment under the command of general Seckendorf.

(1) Strab. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 2. Pomp. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 7. Strab. lib. vi. & alib. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 9. (2) Diod. Sic. ubi supra. (3) Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

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now sensible of their mistake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late; for the fleet had already entered, and, having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that side; upon which the inhabitants hastened in crowds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall entirely unguarded. Himilco took advantage of this confusion, and, attacking the city on the land-side, entered it without opposition. Then, in order to render his conquest complete, he proposed to reduce all the forts and castles in the neighbourhood; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely strong, he altered his design, and returned to Messana, which he soon after levelled with the ground.

*Messana re-
volts from
Dionysius.*

The Siculi holding Dionysius in utter detestation, and a fair opportunity now offering of shaking off their allegiance, all of them, except the Asiarines, revolted to the Carthaginians. Dionysius, thus deprived of the means of raising recruits, was obliged to prevent all the slaves and servants of the Syracusans with their liberty, and with them he manned sixty galleys. He received likewise a reinforcement of a thousand men from the Lacedæmonians, his ancient and faithful allies. Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he fortified the castles and forts of the Syracusans, and the cities in their dependence, and to store them with provisions. Those of Leontini, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely strong, and persuaded the Campanians to leave Catana, the place he had given them to reside in, and remove to the city of Etna, a fortress of great strength, for their future security.

*Notwith-
standing
which, he
advances
towards
the Car-
thaginians.*

Dionysius, upon a review of his land-forces, found them thirty thousand foot, and above three thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near a place called Taurus, about a hundred and sixty stadia from Syracuse. His fleet, by the accession above mentioned, consisted of a hundred and eighty galleys. Himilco, in the mean time, ordered Mago to wait for him at Catana, till he should be able to rejoin him with the land-forces. Dionysius, receiving intelligence of this design, hastened to engage Mago, before that junction happened.

*His fleet,
under the
command
of Leptines,
engages
that of the
Carthagi-
nians;*

In the mean time, Leptines was sent out by the tyrant with the whole Syracusan fleet against Mago's squadron, which he was commanded to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever; and indeed such a salutary command could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of Mago's

great superiority; for his fleet was composed of five hundred ships of burden, besides a great number of gallies with brasen beaks. The Carthaginians at first declined an engagement; but afterwards resolved to wait for the enemy. Their naval forces being divided, one part of them fell in with thirty Syracusan gallies, commanded by Leptines; who likewise, in direct contradiction to his orders, had divided his fleet. During the action, Mago arrived with the other part of the Carthaginian gallies, and immediately surrounded Leptines; upon which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, a most sharp and bloody conflict ensued.

The Carthaginian and Syracusan gallies grappling with each other, the forces on board fought hand to hand, as in a battle on land. They made the utmost efforts on both sides to board their enemies, and consequently many were thrown overboard and slain. In fine, Leptines, though for several hours he defended himself with great valour, being overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The Syracusans, therefore, received a total defeat; nor were their troops, drawn up on the shore, able to afford them the least relief. The Carthaginians sustained great loss in this engagement, which, for a considerable time, was very bloody. Of the Syracusan gallies, above a hundred were sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit. After the action, the Carthaginian fleet anchored at Catana, where they refitted the Syracusan ships they had taken^b.

Upon this misfortune the Sicilians, apprehending they should be reduced to great distress by returning to Syracuse, and there sustaining a siege, solicited Dionysius to fight Himilco: with which proposal he seemed at first willing to comply; but afterwards considering that, whilst he was carrying this project into execution, Mago might possess himself of Syracuse, he altered his resolution. However, a great number of Sicilians, being disgusted at his not approving their measures, deserted, and either retired to the neighbouring garrisons of the Carthaginians, or withdrew to their respective homes^c.

Himilco, in two days march, arriving at Catana, ordered the ships into the harbour, that they might be sheltered from the weather, which was then very boisterous and stormy. Here he halted some time to refresh his troops, and sent ambassadors to the Campanians of Etna, to excite

*and is de-
feated.*

*Dionysius
returns
with his
army to Sy-
racuse.*

*Himilco en-
deavours
to excite
the Cam-
panians of
Etna to
rebel.*

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them to revolt, promising them large possessions, and that they shouild be equal sharers in all the spoils taken from the Sicilians. That his promises might make the deeper impression, he informed them, that the Campanians of Entella had declared for the Carthaginians, and joined them with a considerable body of forces. In short, he desired them to consider, that the Greeks of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatsoever. The Campanians were staggered by these promises and suggestions; but as they had given hostages to Dionysius, and sent the flower of their troops to Syracuse, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty they had concluded.

*He invades
Syracuse.*

The Carthaginian general, animated by the success that attended his arms, advanced to Syracuse, the fleet under Mago at the same time keeping pace with him. Upon Mago's arrival, the army, consisting of three hundred thousand foot and three thousand horse, appeared on the other side, attended likewise by an additional squadron of two hundred capital ships. Himilco, after making the proper dispositions for attacking the town, offered the Syracusans battle, which they declined.

*He takes by
assault the
suburb of
Acradina.*

Before he formed the siege he blocked up the city by sea, and, in order to gain the affections of his troops, as well as to distress the enemy, ravaged the country many miles round. He took by assault the quarter, or suburb, of the town, called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proserpina, and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for harassing the besieged. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs which stood round the city to be demolished, and, amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was a monument of great magnificence. He erected also three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other; one at Plemmyrium, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter, in which he deposited vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries that might enable him to push on the siege with vigour. In the meantime the Syracusans, though greatly distressed, did not despond; Dionysius being in daily expectation of receiving a considerable reinforcement from his foreign allies.

*The Car-
thaginians
worsted by
sea.*

Before the storm fell upon Syracuse, Dionysius had sent his kinsman, Polixenus, to implore the assistance of the Italians, Corinthians, and Lacedæmonians, against the power

of Carthage, which alone he found himself unable to withstand. Polyxenus returning some time after Himilco had invested Syracuse, brought with him, besides some land-forces, a supply of thirty gallies, under the command of Pharacidas the Lacedæmonian. Soon after Dionysius and Leptines went out upon a cruize, intending, if possible, to intercept some of the Carthaginian transports laden with provisions, of which the city then stood in great want. They were scarce out of port, when the Syracusans from the city despaired one of the transports coming up to Himilco's camp; upon which, venturing out with five gallies, they took it. Meeting afterwards with a Carthaginian squadron, they defeated it entirely, took several gallies, and sunk or damaged many more. The Syracusans then fastening the gallies they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly into the town¹.

Himilco, who from his first arrival in the island to this time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was soon reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and disgrace, and his people to the most extreme misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to increase his future misfortunes.

Though now master of almost the whole island of Sicily, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conquests with the reduction of Syracuse, he was obliged to desist from all farther operations against that city by the plague, which, breaking out in the camp, made great havoc amongst his soldiers. This infection was considered as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly those of Ceres and Proserpina, already mentioned, and demolishing the tombs round the city. But without having recourse to the extraordinary interposition of the gods, they might have ascribed it to natural causes: for the heats that summer, in the midst of which this pestilential distemper first appeared, were more excessive than they had ever been known in the memory of man: and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marshes, whose unwholesome exhalations, especially at that hot season, which of itself was almost sufficient to have occasioned the plague, must have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where such an infinite number of people were crowded together. That these in fact were the principal concurring causes of that dreadful malady, is apparent from hence, that the Athenians, who spared both temples and

*The plague
breaks out
in the Car-
thaginian
army.*

tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. It began among the Africans, and soon spread through the whole army^m.

No relief could be had from the physician, this terrible distemper eluding all his art; so that those infected with it expired the fifth or sixth day in exquisite torture. Justin intimates, that almost the whole Carthaginian army perished by it, and as it were in an instant; which will give us some idea of the great malignity of the disease. Diodorus, however, relates, that a considerable body of Africans and Iberians survived this dreadful pestilence: but at the same time he affirms, that a hundred and fifty thousand carcases of those who perished did not meet with interment, and consequently insinuates that a great number died. For he had before hinted, that the dead were buried for some time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a single person of those who attended the sick escapedⁿ.

Dionysius attacks the enemy, and defeats them.

Dionysius, apprised of the deplorable condition to which the Carthaginians were reduced, ordered Pharacidas and Leptines to engage their fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view, having assembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of Cyane, and marching from thence about midnight, without being discovered, took post near the enemy by the time appointed. Soon after he fell with great fury upon the Carthaginian camp, and at the same time attacked the forts which Himilco had erected near the shore. This attempt being unexpected, the Carthaginians were surprised, so that he took the fort called Polichna by storm, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. His horse likewise at the same time advancing in good order, and being attended by some gallies, carried that near Dascon with little opposition. The reduction of these two forts introduced the Syracusan gallies into the great haven; the consequence of which admittance was, the total ruin of the Carthaginian fleet. For the Carthaginian ships, not being able to sustain the shock of the Syracusan gallies, were most of them either taken, sunk, or disabled, at the first attack. And Dionysius afterwards, moving at the head of a body of troops towards the gulph of Dascon, found an opportunity of burning forty large Carthaginian ships, with a great number of transports. According to Diodorus a most dreadful scene was exhibited on this occasion; the

^m Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.
ubi supra. Gros. lib. iv.

Justin. lib. xix. Diodor. Sicul.

gods themselves, when the ships were all in a blaze, and the flames ascending above the masts, seeming to destroy the Carthaginians with lightning from heaven; which that author insinuates they deserved for their great impiety. As many of Himilco's troops flew to the assistance of his fleet, Dionysius broke into the Carthaginian camp, where he made a considerable slaughter; but at the approach of night he found himself obliged to retire. However, he posted himself near the Carthaginians, at the temple of Jupiter, with an intention to renew the battle early next morning^o.

In the mean time Himilco, finding himself unable to sustain a fresh attack, had recourse to a private capitulation with Dionysius. For three hundred talents (H), which he immediately sent the tyrant, he obtained permission to depart, in the night, with all the surviving citizens of Carthage, to Africa. In consequence of which agreement, he, with forty gallies full of those citizens, sailed for Carthage, leaving the rest of his army behind. But some Corinthians in Dionysius's service, coming up with these gallies at sea, ran foul of some vessels in the rear, which were sunk. In the mean time Dionysius posted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none might make their escape, and marching by night with his forces took possession of it. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp, were delivered up as plunder to the soldiery^p.

Himilco
with great
difficulty
makes his
escape to
Africa.

This victory was the more extraordinary, as before the plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, Dionysius found himself reduced to the last extremity, and was actually consulting with his friends about the most proper method of making his escape. In this melancholy situation his friend Ellopides advised him to resume all his courage, and by no means to renounce his sovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament to his sepulchre. The tyrant closed with his advice, and, notwithstanding the Siculi had joined the enemy, by the calamity above related, became victorious.

Thus ended this campaign, one of the most remarkable for variety of incidents and vicissitudes of fortune to be found in history,

Advice being brought to Carthage of the terrible fate that both the land and sea-forces of the republic had experienced.

Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^a Idem ibid. cap. 5.

(H) About fifty-four thousand pounds sterl^ling, no extraordinary sum for the military

theft, considering what a numerous army Himilco commanded.

*The Carthaginians
in the ut-
most con-
farnation.*

ed in Sicily, the whole city was overwhelmed with sorrow. Every part of it was filled with outries and lamentations, and the people were under the same dismal apprehensions as if the enemy had actually made themselves masters of the town. All the houses, as well as the temples, being shut up, an entire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious worship. This despondency prevailed when the Carthaginians were seized with the first impressions of terror; for soon after recovering themselves, they began to entertain hopes that, upon their general's arrival, things might possibly turn out better than they had been represented. They did not, however, continue long in a state of suspense; for in a little time, the poor remains of their shattered troops landed near Carthage, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this information all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themselves to despair, and giving full vent to their grief, made the shore resound with their groans and lamentations⁴.

*Himilco,
not being
able to sur-
vive his
misfor-
tunes, kills
himself.*

Himilco in the mean time landing at Carthage, appeared in mean and sordid attire. He was immediately met by a vast concourse of people, lamenting their sad and inauspicious fortune. Joining with these miserable wretches, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but most of all that of his country. Afterwards impiously taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the sole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to esteem it as a singular happiness, that their present calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could assume to themselves no merit from their disaster. "The enemy (said he) may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. The troops we have lost did not fall by their valour, nor did they oblige those that are now arrived, to abandon Sicily by force. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are only defeated by the plague. The baggage found in our camp ought not to be regarded as the spoils of a conquered enemy, but as effects, which the casual death of the owners has left the Syracusans in possession of. No part of the disaster, continued he, touches me so much as my surviving so many gallant men, and my being reserved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dreadful a calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to Carthage the remaining part of the army under my conduct, I shall speedily follow those brave men who per-

⁴ Ifocrat. in Artibiam. ap. Sabin. Var. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 3. Just. lib. xix. sub fin. Cic. de Civ. lib. iv.

rished in Sicily, and thereby demonstrate to my country, that it was not out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death they would have been exposed, that I survived them." After this declaration, going directly to his house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himself the fatal stroke[†].

The fame of Dionysius's success being spread all over the Carthaginian dominions, and those of their confederates in Africa, the affairs of the republic in this country were soon almost in as bad a situation as in Sicily. The Africans bore a natural hatred to the Carthaginians; and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in Africa, that Himilco had saved only the citizens of Carthage, leaving the confederates to the mercy of the enemy. Incensed therefore to the last degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the Carthaginians, who now were become despicable to all their neighbours, the cities and states which had sent them auxiliaries, took up arms, intending to take signal vengeance for the late affront offered them in the persons of their countrymen. They dispatched expresses into all parts, publishing the ill usage they had received in the most aggravating terms; by which means supplies coming from every quarter, they soon assembled a considerable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. Their design being publicly known, and that they had forces likewise to put it in execution, the whole country rose; so that their army, in a short time, amounted to above two hundred thousand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their route towards Carthage.

On their march they took Tunes, a city in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which surrendered at the first summons. This loss occasioned a dreadful alarm among the citizens of Carthage; who now gave up every thing for lost. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them; but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the Carthaginians, in all public calamities, carried their superstition to a very great excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods, particularly Ceres and Proserpina, whose temples they had violated at Syracuse; and therefore considered this melancholy incident as the effect of their resentment. Before this period these deities had never been heard of in

*The Africans revolt
from the
Cartha-
ginians.*

Yr. of Fl.
1953.
Ante Chr.
395.

*They take
Tunes, and
advance
into the
neighour-
hood of
Carthage,*

[†] Justin, Oros, & Diod. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

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Africa : but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent statues were erected to their honour ; priests selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service ; and all their sacrifices ordained to be offered after the Greek manner. Greeks, versed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worship of these goddesses, were appointed to officiate in this service. Having by this institution sufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for past offences to these deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all necessary preparations to reduce the rebels, and those who supported them, to reason ^a.

but are obliged at last to disperse. Though the African forces were very numerous ; yet, happily for the Carthaginians, they wanted a general, as well as subordinate officers of experience ; and had neither warlike engines to carry on a siege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude ; whereas the Carthaginians, being masters of the sea, were supplied with every thing in great plenty from Sardinia. Such an army as this was like a body uninformed with a soul. As there was no discipline or subordination in it, every person might claim an independence on the rest ; which would cause numberless factions and divisions amongst them, and consequently soon dissolve the whole. Thus, in fact, it happened with this rabble of an army : for dissensions arising, the famine daily increasing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the Carthaginians to desert, the individuals of which it was composed retired to their respective homes, and by these means Carthage was delivered from one of the most imminent dangers that had ever threatened it.

After the late disaster in Sicily, Himilco had left Mago to manage the Carthaginian interest in that island, and settle their shattered affairs in the best manner possible. In the course of his administration, he treated all the Sicilians subject to Carthage with great mildness and humanity, and granted his protection to all who were persecuted by Diony-
Dionylius reunits Mago at Abacenum. sius. He also entered into alliances with several Sicilian cities, which had an aversion to the tyrant. Strengthened by these alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from Carthage, he formed an army, and made an incursion into the territory of Messana. Having ravaged the country in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to Abacenum, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. Dionylius, advancing to Abacenum, offered him battle ; which challenge Mago accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loss of above eight hundred men.

After this defeat, the Carthaginian general, with his broken troops, entered Abacænum; and Dionysius returned to Syracuse^c.

Notwithstanding the great losses the Carthaginians had sustained in the course of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the island of Sicily. Their officers were therefore sent, as usual, to levy forces in Africa, Sardinia, and some of those parts of Italy not inhabited by Greeks. As their fleets had been hitherto unsuccessful, they proposed determining the fate of Sicily by a decisive battle in the field; for which reason they fitted out a much weaker squadron of capital ships, than in any of the former expeditions. They armed all their troops on this occasion in the completest manner, and appointed Mago, who was defeated the year before at Abacænum, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in that island would soon undergo a very considerable alteration.

Mago, assembling his land-forces, found them eighty thousand fighting men, with which he landed in Sicily. On his march through the territories of the Siculi, many cities surrendered to his arms; and these acquisitions gave him great encouragement. At last he encamped on the river Chrysas, in the country of the Agyrineans, and attempted to bring over that people to his party. But his endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that Dionysius was advancing against him at the head of twenty thousand men, he continued some time in his camp, and put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time the tyrant, being arrived in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp, sent to Agyris, prince of the Agyrineans, to join him with all his forces, and supply his troops with provisions. This tyrant was next to Dionysius in power of all others in the island, his city containing no less than twenty thousand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treasure; for he had lately murdered some of his principal subjects, and confiscated their estates. Dionysius therefore making him a visit, with some of his particular friends, prevailed upon Agyris to second his measures; in consequence of which agreement, he received a supply of provisions, and a strong reinforcement of troops. What induced Agyris to fall in so readily with the Syracusean tyrant's views was, the promise of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in case their arms should be attended with success^a.

Yr. of Fl.
1956.
Ante Chr.
392.

*The Car-
thaginians
meditate a
fresh at-
tempt upon
the island
of Sicily.*

Dionysius
wins Agy-
ris, tyrant
of the Agy-
rineans,
over to his
interest;

In the mean time Mago, finding himself in an enemy's country, reduced to great distress for want of provisions, began to be very uneasy. The Syracusans wished to come to battle immediately; but this measure Dionysius opposed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without striking a stroke, by starving them to a surrender: and indeed he had great reason for what he advanced; for the Agyrineans, being well acquainted with all the passes and private roads of the country, every day surprised the Carthaginian parties; and after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the provisions they were carrying to their camp. However, the Syracusans, being incensed at Dionysius's refusal to comply with their proposal, directly quitted his camp. This defection threw the tyrant into great consternation, and obliged him to manumit all the slaves, as he had done once before. Soon after the Carthaginians, alarmed at the dreadful prospect of a famine, sent ambassadors to propose an accommodation. This being as necessary for Dionysius in his present circumstances as the Carthaginians, a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, without any farther effusion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all points with the former; only by an additional article the city of Tauromenium was given to Dionysius, who, driving out the Siculi, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As soon as the treaty was signed, Mago returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves. Thus this war ended, notwithstanding the terrible blow they received before Syracuse, very little to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians ».

*Yr. of Fl.
1957.
Ante Chr.
391.*

*and con-
cludes a
peace with
Mago.*

From this time, for nine years, the Carthaginians enjoyed uninterrupted repose; at least history is silent as to any military transactions they were concerned in during that interval: but in the second year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, Dionysius, meditating a war against them, formed a project of putting his finances upon such a footing, as might enable him to carry it on with a prospect of success. This scheme, by the assistance of that good fortune, which had always attended him to that time, he easily put in execution. Having fitted out sixty gallies, under pretence of clearing the seas of pirates, he made a descent in Etruria, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, carrying away, besides the rich effects and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils; and, with this money, levied a numerous ar-

*Dionysius
plunders a
rich temple
in Etruria.*

my. He now wanted nothing but a plausible pretence to break with the Carthaginians; for which he was not long at a loss. Observing, that the Carthaginian subjects in Sicily were inclined to revolt, he took as many under his protection, as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the consequence of which was an admission of his troops into their cities. The Carthaginians informed of this conduct, first remonstrated against such a proceeding, as a manifest infraction of the treaties then subsisting between them, by ministers sent to the tyrant for that purpose; but this remonstrance not availling, they declared war against him ^x.

The people of Carthage, suspecting his design against their state, upon the first notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had strengthened themselves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other necessary measures to shelter themselves from the impending storm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was joined by a strong body of foreign mercenaries engaged in their service. To make a greater diversion, they divided their army into two bodies; one of which they sent to Italy, and the other to Sicily; and this step obliged Dionysius likewise to divide his forces. The main army however had orders to act in Sicily, under the command of Mago, who, soon after his arrival, was attacked by Dionysius at a place called Cabala. The encounter was severe and bloody; but at last the Carthaginians were forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, strong by its situation, but destitute of water. In the battle they had ten thousand men killed upon the spot, together with Mago their general, who behaved with great bravery and resolution, and five thousand taken prisoners. In this situation, the Carthaginians found themselves obliged to sue for peace; which they could obtain upon no other terms, but their evacuating Sicily, and defraying all the expences of the war. With these conditions, however hard they might appear, they were forced to comply: but they evaded putting the first in execution, till the return of an express from Carthage. In the mean time they buried Mago, who, at the time of his death, was one of their suffetes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the present melancholy situation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his son Mago to command the troops in his room ^y.

and defeats
them at
Cabala in
Sicily.

Dionysius, elated with his success, now looked upon himself as sovereign of all Sicily, not doubting but he should

^x Diod. Sicul. lib. xv. cap. 2.
Strat. lib. vi. cap. 16. ex. 1.

^y Idem ibid. & Polyen.

soon be in a situation to give laws to all his neighbours : but in this hope he was greatly mistaken ; for the Carthaginians did intend in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occasion was calculated only to amuse the tyrant, till they had an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, during the truce, Mago, their new general, raised and disciplined fresh troops, and improved that short interval so well, that, at the return of the express sent to Carthage, he took the field with a powerful army. As Mago, though young, had, on many occasions, given proofs of extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his conduct expressed great impatience to engage the enemy.

Yr. of Fl.

1966.

Ante Chr.

382.

*But is
over-
thrown at
Cronion.*

Indulging their ardour, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle not far from Cronion, and entirely defeated him, killed fourteen thousand Syracusans on the spot, and amongst the rest Leptines, his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by those who detested the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, Dionysius had the advantage, repulsing those that charged him with great bravery ; but when he heard of the death of Leptines, and that the body he commanded was broken and dispersed, he immediately betook himself to flight, and was hotly pursued by the Carthaginians. A dreadful slaughter was made in the pursuit ; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the rest must all have been cut off, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to escape. This victory made the Carthaginians ample amends for the blow they received at Cabbala ; and left them in full possession, not only of their own towns, but also of a great part of the Syracusan territories. Dionysius, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to Syracuse, which he expected to be besieged by the victorious enemy. However, the Carthaginian general used his victory with great moderation, and concluded a peace with Dionysius on the following conditions.

First, Dionysius shall cede to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus.

Secondly, The king of Syracuse shall cede to the republic of Carthage that part of the district of Agrigentum bordering upon the territory of Selinus, which extends as far as the river Halycus.

Thirdly, He shall pay the Carthaginians a thousand talents, to defray the expences of the war.

In other respects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to subsist in their fullest extent ^a.

^a Idem ibid.

About three years after the conclusion of this war, the Carthaginians landed an army in Italy, and restored the inhabitants of Hippo, or, as Strabo calls it, Hipponium, to their city, from whence they had been expelled. This city was very ancient, being mentioned by Scylax; and was, according to Strabo, built by the people of Locri. The Romans called it Vibo, Valentia, and Vibo Valentia; but Ptolemy used the old name, following Scylax and Strabo. If the last author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and wore them in honour of Proserpina; who, according to an ancient tradition prevailing amongst the natives, came thither on purpose to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the Carthaginians, who undertook this expedition purely with a design to restore them to their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating them with great kindness, they returned to Africa.

Immediately after the arrival of the troops from Italy, Yr. of Fl. 1970. Carthage had a most terrible calamity to struggle with: the plague broke out again, and swept away an infinite number Ante Chr. 378. of the inhabitants. This seems to have raged with greater violence than any distemper the city was ever visited with before; for such vast multitudes were carried off, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and Sardi, encouraged by the extreme weakness to which that state was reduced, attempted to shake off the Carthaginian yoke; but were at last, not without some effusion of blood, reduced to obedience. This pestilence was of a very singular nature; for panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, suddenly seized the heads of those afflicted with it, who, falling sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. Justin intimates, that the Carthaginians laboured under this grievous distemper a considerable time, with little or no intermission; for it appears, that they were delivered from the plague not long before the death of Dionysius.

Towards the beginning of the hundred and third Olympiad, Dionysius, assembling a large body of forces, resolved to fall upon the Carthaginians, who were then in a very bad situation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the Africans and Sardi, which had not been long terminated. As he had not the least colour or pretext for such an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourse to downright falsity; alleging, that the

Carthaginians made incursions into his dominions. Without putting himself to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, attended by a navy of three hundred sail. With this formidable force he soon reduced the cities of Selinus and Entella, plundering and ravaging the adjacent country. Then he made himself master of Eryx, and invested Lilybaeum; which, being defended by a numerous garrison, baffled his efforts in such a manner, that he was obliged to relinquish the siege. Being informed, that the arsenal at Carthage was consumed by fire, he concluded, that this state would find it impossible to equip a fleet; and therefore laid up thirty of his best gallies in the haven at Eryx, and sent back all the rest to Syracuse. The Carthaginians, knowing the tyrant was not upon his guard, manned two hundred gallies, and unexpectedly entering the port of Eryx, surprised part of his fleet, and carried most of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. Dionysius did not long survive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was succeeded by a son of the same name in the government of Syracuse ^a.

*Greek language ex-
pelled Car-
thage.*

Though Diodorus does not say expressly, that the Carthaginians, upon the last rupture, sent a body of troops to Sicily, yet Justin gives us some reason to believe, that they either did, or designed it; and that these troops were commanded by Hanno. The same author informs us, that Suniator, Surfiatus, or Suniates, a person of great authority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to Hanno; and, in order to do him a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions, by writing in Greek to Dionysius: but his letter, wherein he made very free with Hanno's character, being intercepted, he was found guilty of treason by the senate. This detection occasioned the passing of a law at Carthage, prohibiting all the inhabitants either to write or speak the Greek language, that they might be deprived of all means of corresponding with the enemy ^b.

The Carthaginians being at this time in full possession of Sardinia, and a great part of Africa, thought it consistent with justice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourse betwixt the Romans and those countries. Nevertheless about this period the first treaty was concluded between these two rival nations; from which treaty it appears, that both the

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. cap. 8. ^b Justin. ubi supra. lib. iii. cap. 5. Mel. lib. vi. cap. 4. Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 40, &c.

Romans and Carthaginians applied themselves with great diligence to commerce. Soon after this event, the Romans gained a signal victory over the Samnites. Upon which the Carthaginians sent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus^c: but to return to the affairs of Sicily.

The prince upon the throne was of a quite different character from his father, being as peaceable and mild in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising. But this moderation being only the effect of a slothful and indolent disposition, his subjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himself the government of Syracuse, he changed the truce with the Carthaginians into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with them. As Diodorus ascribes this peace to his indolence and sloth, we have some reason to believe, that the terms were not very advantageous to the Syracusans^d.

Some years after, the people of Syracuse, being agitated by civil dissensions, were involved in the greatest miseries. Dionysius was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of Dion, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. His past misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better sort of the citizens, not being able to endure so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of Icetas, who was by descent a Syracusan, and at that time tyrant of Leontini. They created him general of all their forces; not from any great opinion they entertained of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. The Carthaginians, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themselves absolute masters of Sicily, equipped a great fleet, and for some time hovered upon the coasts of that island, not being at first determined where to make a descent. They also entered into an alliance with Icetas, who had taken Syracuse under his protection. The two powers, by this treaty, engaged to join their forces, in order to expel Dionysius; and, after his expulsion, to divide Sicily between them. Could such a division as this have taken place, the Carthaginians would probably afterwards have

Yr. of Fl.
1981.
Ante Chr.
367.

Dionysius
II. comes
to an ac-
commoda-
tion with
the Car-
thaginians.

War be-
tween the
Syracusans
and Co-
rinthians,
and of Dio-
nysius with
the Car-
thaginians.

^c Oros. lib. i. ad A. U. C. edii. M. Rollin. in Hist. Ant. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amsterdam, 1733. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 22, 23, 24. Liv. lib. vii.

^d Diod. Sic. lib. xvij. cap. 2.

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been able to crush the tyrant, and make themselves masters of the whole island^c.

The Syracusans discovering this design, as well as Icetas's view in the whole affair, applied to the Corinthians for assistance. That state, which bore a great aversion to tyrants of all denominations, sent a body of troops under the conduct of Timoleon, a general of consummate abilities, and a great friend to liberty, to the assistance of the Syracusans. Timoleon, apprised of the miserable condition to which that people were reduced, made the necessary preparations for a sudden departure. To facilitate which, he was very speedily supplied with every thing requisite to render his enterprize successful, by the Corinthians.

Yr. of Fl.
2004.
Ante Chr.
344-

Timoleon
sets sail for
Sicily,

But notwithstanding the hurry he was in, he thought proper to go to Delphi, in order to sacrifice to Apollo, before he sailed for Sicily. As he descended into the place where the responses of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, according to Plutarch, slipping from among the consecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head. This incident he interpreted as a happy omen, Apollo seeming to crown him with success, and to assure him of a triumph over Icetas and the Carthaginians. He set sail from Corinth with seven gallies of his own nation, two of Corcyra, and a tenth, which was sent him by the Leucadians, with only a thousand soldiers on board; a very small force, considering the enterprize he was going upon. The same author also informs us, that Timoleon, standing out to sea by night, was carried by a prosperous gale into the ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, resembling those torches that were used in the sacred mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina, which conducted him to that part of Italy where he intended to land. This phenomenon being interpreted by the soothsayers as a confirmation of what those goddesses had before declared, he considered it as a sure token of victory. Pursuing his voyage over the Ionian sea with great alacrity, he soon arrived safe with his small fleet at Metapontum, now Torre di Mare, on the coast of Italy^d.

Upon his
arrival on
the coast of
Italy he
captures Ic-
etas and the
Carthagi-
nians

From Metapontum he advanced to Rhegium, where he found ambassadors from Icetas; and likewise was informed, that twenty Carthaginian gallies, which convoyed those ambassadors to Rhegium, had blocked up the road, and

^c Plut. in Tito. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup. cap. 19.

^d Diod.

Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 14. & Plut. ubi sup.

received

received orders to oppose him, if he offered to approach Syracuse. Timoleon finding himself not able to force his way, on account of the superior strength of the enemy, pretended to listen to the proposal of the ambassadors; but insisted upon consulting the Rhegians in the affair. Amongst other things, he alleged, that the Carthaginians themselves would more scrupulously observe the articles of a treaty they had signed before so many witnesses. The commanders of the Carthaginian squadron, amused with this specious pretext, agreed to the conference demanded of them and Icetas's ambassadors, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. This enabled Timoleon, by the assistance of the latter, who were privy to the design, to pass over into Sicily in sight of the Carthaginian fleet.

Timoleon arrived safe with his whole fleet at Tauromenium. The Rhegians, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to see the Carthaginians repulsed at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them upon the occasion. The Carthaginians being thus deluded, were extremely mortified, and made bitter complaints of the Reginian perfidy and fraud.

The Carthaginian general, informed of Timoleon's landing at Tauromenium, dispatched an express on board one of his gallies, threatening Andromachus, the tyrant of that city, with his resentment, if he did not immediately expel the Corinthians. The form of the menace, according to Plutarch, was this: the Barbarian, stretching out his hand with the inside upward, and then turning it round, threatened to treat Tauromenium in the same manner. Andromachus, laughing, made no other reply to this insolence, than by repeating this motion with an air of contempt, and ordering him to depart immediately, upon pain of having such a trial of dexterity exercised upon the vessel which brought him thither. Which single circumstance, slight as it is, seems clearly to point out the Carthaginian original; denunciations of this kind having been common in the East, as appears from Scripture, to omit what may be collected from profane authors.

Timoleon, drawing his forces out of Tauromenium, which in the whole did not amount to above a thousand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the dusk of the evening, and arrived the next day at Adranum. To this place Icetas had advanced at the head of a Carthaginian detachment of five thousand men. These Timoleon surprised at supper, put three hundred of them to the sword, and

*and lands
his forces
in Sicily by
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gem.*

*The Car-
thaginians
threaten.
Androma-
chus.*

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took six hundred prisoners. Then he marched to Syracuse, and broke into one part of the town, before the enemy had any notice of his approach. Here he took post, and defended himself with such resolution, that he could not be dislodged by the united power of Icetas and the Carthaginians¹.

The Corinthian garrison in the citadel in a sally take Acradina.

Dionysius having put the citadel of Syracuse into the hands of the Corinthians, they kept possession of that important place. Leon, an officer of great bravery, who commanded the Corinthian garrison, in a sally took that part of the city called Acradina; and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. Nor could all the efforts of the Carthaginians, and their allies, dislodge him from this quarter. Timoleon remained sometime at Catana, in expectation of a reinforcement from Corinth. Till the arrival of those troops, he did not judge it practicable to extend his conquests².

The Carthaginians, informed that the Corinthian succours were detained by tempestuous weather at Thurium posted a strong squadron, under Hanno their admiral, to intercept them, in their passage to Sicily. But that commander, not imagining the Corinthians would attempt a passage to Sicily in such a stormy season, left his station at Thurium, and ordering his seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with bucklers of both the Greek and Carthaginian form, sailed to Syracuse in a triumphant manner. Upon his arrival, he gave the troops in the citadel to understand, that he had taken the succours Timoleon expected, thinking by this artifice to intimidate them to surrender. But whilst he spent his time in such amusements, the Corinthians marched with great expedition through the territories of the Bruttii to Rhegium, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were easily wafted over to Sicily. Thus they eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron. This capital error in Hanno proved the total ruin of Icetas, and, in its consequences, was of infinite prejudice to the Carthaginians.

Megæ, receiving advice of the junction of this reinforcement with Timoleon's other troops, was struck with terror; though the whole Corinthian army did not form a corps of above four thousand men. Soon after, some of the Greek mercenaries joining in conversation, whilst they were fishing for eels in the marshes about Syracuse, one of the Corinthian party addressed himself to those of the other side in the following terms: "Is it possible for Greeks to attempt

¹ Plut. & Diodor. ubi supra.

² Idem, ibid.

reducing

reducing so noble a city as this to the obedience of Barbarians, nay, of the most cruel and bloody Barbarians breathing? Is it not much more for their interest, that the Carthaginians should be removed at the greatest distance from Greece, than that they should be put into the possession of a most rich and fertile island in its neighbourhood? Can any person be so stupid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces from the streights of Hercules, and the Atlantic ocean, purely to support Icetas, who, if he had acted like an able general, would never have introduced his country's implacable enemies into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in him to treat his ancestors and natural friends, as the bitterest enemies; which had he not done, he might have enjoyed his high dignity, without giving the least offence to Timoleon and the Corinthians?" These discourses being spread throughout the camp, and even reaching Mago's ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, he apprehended a general desertion amongst his troops: So that, refusing to listen to Icetas, who plainly demonstrated the weakness of the enemy, he weighed anchor, and sailed for Africa. No other reason can be assigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous disposition of that general, who conscious of his guilt, on his arrival at Carthage, laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment his cowardice deserved. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people, in order to deter succeeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and sacrificing their country, in so flagrant a manner^k.

After Mago had abandoned his confederates in Sicily, the Corinthian arms made a great progress in that island. Timoleon possessed himself of Entella, and massacred all the citizens who persisted in their adherence to the Carthaginians. He forced Icetas to renounce his alliance with the state of Carthage, and even deposed him. He restored several Greek cities to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges; and admitted many others dependent upon the Carthaginians among his confederates. And, lastly, after his return to Syracuse, he continued his military preparations with great diligence, intending to act against the Carthaginian part of Sicily the following year.

The senate and people of Carthage, highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the last campaign, deprived most of them of their commissions; and, resolving to new-model the army, filled the vacant posts with persons of

The Carthaginians make great preparations for carrying on the war with Timoleon.

known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in Sicily with vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took besides into their service a numerous body of mercenaries, raised in Spain, Gaul, and Liguria. Their naval preparations kept pace in all respects with those made by land. Both being completed, they sent Asdrubal and Hamilcar, two experienced commanders, over to Sicily, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. In the mean time Timoleon, having concluded the war with Icetas, and, by the accession of his troops, considerably reinforced his army, advanced against them with great intrepidity upon their landing at Lilybæum, though his forces did not amount to above seven thousand effective men. He had, before the arrival of the Carthaginians, detached Dinarchus and Demaretus, with a body of chosen troops, to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they not only lived for a considerable time at discretion, but likewise obliged several of their cities to join the Greeks, and at their departure carried off a vast sum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By these means Timoleon was enabled to furnish a military chest, and establish a fund sufficient for exigencies. The Carthaginian generals had no sooner landed their forces, than they were apprised of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards Timoleon, they at last encamped upon the banks of the river Crimetus, or Crimessus. Nor did the Corinthian commander fail to meet them¹, though a considerable body of the Greek mercenaries had deserted him on his march.

Timoleon engages and defeats the Carthaginian army,

As Timoleon ascended an eminence to take a view of the enemy's camp, he met some mules loaded with parsley, an herb with which the sepulchres of the dead were usually adorned by the ancients. This trifling event threw the soldiers into a great panic, as they construed it into an unlucky omen. Timoleon, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring, that as the victors at the Isthmian games were crowned with this herb, particularly the Corinthians, it ought to be esteemed as a symbol of victory; and therefore intreated them to banish all gloomy apprehensions. To remove all impressions of terror entirely from their minds, he made himself a crown of parsley; and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With these they

approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been sure of a triumph. Plutarch adds, that the soothsayers discovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial kind of noise. These they shewed to the soldiers, and interpreted as tokens of success, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auspicious day. Timoleon, therefore, taking advantage of their present disposition, and of the confusion the Carthaginians were thrown in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the Crimesus, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated, and put to flight, before the rest could come to their assistance. Great numbers of the enemy perished in this first action; for Timoleon himself being at the head of the body of troops that engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole Carthaginian army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory remained a long time doubtful. The Sicilian horse, under the conduct of Demaretus, charged the enemy in front, before they had formed themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots posted there keeping them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. Timoleon, observing this inconvenience, ordered them instantly to wheel about, and attack the enemy in flank, whilst with the foot he formed a sort of phalanx, with which he bore down with great fury upon the Carthaginians, who on their side sustained the shock of the Sicilian foot with surprising firmness: but whilst they were fighting with the greatest intrepidity, there arose on a sudden a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which driving in the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into disorder. At the same time the Crimesus overflowing its banks, occasioned such an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarrassed, and forced to retire in great confusion: which incident animating the Greeks, they put the Carthaginians to the rout, and drove many of them into the river. The sacred cohort, or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were cut off to a man. Plutarch relates, that of ten thousand men who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thousand were native Carthaginians of the best families in the city; and that, according to the Punic records, such a number of persons of distinction

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tion never fell in any battle before. As the Carthaginian armies consisted for the most part of Africans, Spaniards, and Numidians, when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Besides the slain, there were above fifteen thousand taken prisoners. All their baggage and provisions, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into Timoleon's hands. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to Plutarch, so immense, that the whole Sicilian army was three days in collecting it, and stripping the slain. After Timoleon's troops had passed the river, and taken possession of the enemy's camp, they found such an incredible quantity of gold and silver, that nothing of inferior value was regarded. The commander in chief divided the whole among the soldiers, reserving nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. It must not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month Thargelion, which was Timoleon's birth-day; nor that all the other remarkable engagements he was concerned in, if Cornelius Nepos may be credited, happened on the same day. The wonderful success it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of superstition: for, next to the violent storm above mentioned, this unparalleled victory was owing to the happy turn Timoleon gave to a frivolous incident, considered as a fatal omen".

Yr. of Fl.
2009.
Ante Chr.
339.

which occasions
great joy
at Corinth
and Syracuse.

The news of so signal a victory obtained over the professed enemies of the Greek name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at Corinth and Syracuse, especially as it was likely to be attended with such happy consequences. The Corinthians adorned their temples with the Carthaginian spoils, which they hung up with inscriptions, importing, that the people of Corinth, and Timoleon their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgement for making them the instruments of delivering Sicily from Carthaginian servitude. Timoleon having left his mercenaries upon the enemies frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to Syracuse with the rest of his army, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. It is worthy observation, that all the punishment he inflicted upon the thousand mercenaries, who were accomplices of Thracius, for their infamous desertion, was only banishment from Syracuse. However, he ordered them also to depart before sunset.

^a Plut. & Diodor. ubi sup. Corn. Nep. id. V. Timol. cap. 5. Polyaen. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 12. et seq.

Icetas, after this transaction, being tired with his private station, shewed an inclination to reinstate himself, if possible, in his dominions; and with this view found means, in conjunction with Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, to conclude another treaty with the Carthaginians. In consequence of this alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of seventy sail, and took a strong body of Greeks, of whose valour they had now a great opinion, into their service, intending to try their fortune once more in Sicily. Gisco, the brother of Hanno, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from banishment to command the troops destined for the new expedition. This intelligence soon reaching Sicily, occasioned fresh commotions. The inhabitants of Messana, entering into an association against Timoleon, put four hundred of his troops to the sword; a detachment of mercenaries, under the command of Euthymus the Leucadian, being drawn into an ambuscade by the Carthaginian forces at Hieræ, were cut off; and whilst Timoleon was on his march to Calauria, Icetas, being reinforced by a Carthaginian party, made an incursion into the territories of Syracuse, carrying off a considerable booty, and, in contempt of Timoleon, passed by Calauria itself, where that general was then posted. However, he pursued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with some of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. Icetas, thus pursued, passed the river Damyrias with precipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other side, put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a dispute arising amongst Timoleon's officers, who could not agree which should pass the river first to attack Icetas, the general ordered them to cast lots; upon which every one threw a ring into Timoleon's robe, and the first that was taken out and exposed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a seal upon it. This accident greatly encouraging the troops, they attacked Icetas with incredible bravery, who not being able to sustain the shock, was routed, with the loss of a thousand men killed upon the spot, and pursued to the city of Leontini. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own soldiers to Timoleon. The two first were immediately executed, as tyrants and traitors, and the last murdered in cold blood: the wives and daughters of Icetas likewise suffered death, after a public trial. After this victory, Timoleon moved with his forces towards Catana; and meeting Mamercus, gave him battle in the plains of the river Abolus. The dispute was for some time warm and bloody, but at last the tyrant

Icetas concludes another treaty with the Carthaginians.
and is overthrown by Timoleon.

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tyrant was vanquished, his army entirely dispersed, and above two thousand men were left dead upon the field of battle. As the greatest part of these were auxiliaries sent to Mamercus by Gisco, the Carthaginians themselves suffered considerably in this action ^a.

Yr. of Fl. 2010. **Ante Chr.** 338.
Notwithstanding the warlike preparations they were making at Carthage for the invasion of Sicily, the senate had sent ambassadors to Timoleon to make peace, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he saw them in a condition to continue the war.

A peace concluded between Timoleon and the Carthaginians.
The two last blows given their confederates disposed them still more strongly to an accommodation, to which they found Timoleon not averse, as he was apprehensive of fresh troubles from Mamercus and others, against whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly concluded on the following terms: that all the Greek cities should be declared free; that the river Halucus, or, as Diodorus and Plutarch both call it, the Lycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse, or its dependencies, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Carthage should not for the future afford any assistance to the remaining tyrants against the Syracusans ^b.

Hanno endeavours to make himself absolute at Carthage.
About this time Hanno, who, according to Justin's account, was the most opulent and powerful citizen in Carthage, formed a design of subverting the constitution, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accomplish this project, he proposed to invite the senators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and, by mixing poison with wine, to destroy them all, not doubting but such a tragical event would at once make him master of the republic. Though the plan was laid with great secrecy, yet it was discovered by some of his servants; but his interest in the city was so great, that the government did not dare punish so execrable a crime. The magistrates therefore contented themselves with passing a law, prohibiting ~~too~~ great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on such occasions. Hanno finding his stratagem defeated, was resolved to have recourse to arms; for that purpose he assembled all his slaves, and attempted a second time to put his design in execution. However, he was again discovered; but, to avoid punishment, he retired with twenty thousand armed slaves to a castle, that was very strongly fortified; and from thence applied to the Afri-

Plut. & Diodor. ubi supra.

^a Idem ibid.

cans,

cans, and the king of the Mauritani, for assistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and carried to Carthage, where being severely scourged, his eyes were put out ; his arms and thighs broken ; and at last he was executed in the presence of all the people, to deter others from such flagitious attempts. After the execution, his body was hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. Plutarch mentions one Hanno as admiral of the Carthaginian fleet, in the beginning of the late war between Ictas and Timoleon, who possibly might have been the very person Justin represents as so infatuated with ambition.

It was probably at this period that Tyrian ambassadors arrived at Carthage, to implore the assistance of that potent republic against Alexander. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so these two states always called one another) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians in a most sensible manner, though, by reason of domestic troubles, they were then incapable of sending them any succours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to console them, on this melancholy occasion ; and therefore dispatched to Tyre thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief, that the bad situation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The Tyrians, though frustrated of their hopes, did not despond, but took the necessary measures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board some vessels, in order to send them to Carthage ; and then made the most strenuous efforts to drive the enemy from their walls.

The Carthaginians, hearing of the reduction of Tyre, and the great progress Alexander made in the East, began to be under some apprehensions for their own safety, fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundless as his ambition. But they were much more alarmed, when they received advice that he had made himself master of Egypt, was advancing towards the West, and had built Alexandria upon the confines of Egypt and Africa, in order to rival them in commerce. They imagined now he might in reality have an intention to unite Africa and Asia under his dominion, and aspire to universal monarchy. They therefore chose Hamilcar (or, as Gellius intimates, Asdrubal), surnamed Rhodanus, to sound the inclinations of that prince. Rhodanus being a person of wonderful address, as well as great

*The Car-
thaginians
send Ha-
milcar
Rhodanus
to Alexan-
der.*

great eloquence, made it his utmost endeavour to insinuate himself into Alexander's favour. Having obtained an audience by means of Parmenio, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished Carthage, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which request being granted, he did his country signal service by communicating many important discoveries relating to Alexander's schemes. The manner of this communication being somewhat singular, we shall transcribe it from Gellius. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epistle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the custom of that age, without any characters upon it, sent them away as blanks. This contrivance the people at Carthage being before acquainted with, decyphered the contents. We do not find that Alexander ever discovered the treachery of this Carthaginian, or even entertained the least suspicion of him; which is a farther proof of the refined genius of that nation for works of intrigue. Upon his return, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at Carthage, by a sentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful.

In the second year of the 114th Olympiad, Thimbro, after he had assassinated his friend Harpalus in Crete, sailed with a body of mercenaries to Cyrenaica; and being joined by some exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the passes, endeavoured to make himself master of that country. The natives being defeated by him, were obliged to apply to the Carthaginians, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well refuse. This circumstance we learn from Diodorus; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by Ophellus, and delivered into the hands of Ptolemy, it is very probable the Carthaginians were not then able to assist them.

XV. of El. 2052. Ante Chr. 316.
*The syra-
cusan ex-
iles and
Agathocles
their gen-
eral against
Sosistratus.*

A few years afterwards, Sosistratus, who had usurped the power at Syracuse, having been forced by Agathocles to raise the siege of Rhegium, returned with his shattered troops to Sicily; but soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the sovereignty, and quit Syracuse. With him were expelled above six hundred of the principal citizens suspected by the populace to have formed a design of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in

the history of Syracuse. As Sosistratus and the exiles thought themselves ill-treated, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the Syracusans recalling Agathocles, who had before been banished by Sosistratus, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, on account of the known aversion he bore to the tyrant. The Carthaginians supplying Sosistratus with troops, he immediately assembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himself, and his six hundred adherents, justice. After the two armies approached one another, several marches and counter-marches, and even some skirmishes happened, each side endeavouring to gain some material advantage. Agathocles, in all these military movements, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy.

This war did not continue long; for Sosistratus and the exiles being soon received again into the city, a treaty of peace was concluded between Carthage and Syracuse. The Syracusans, now finding that Agathocles began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed that he aimed at monarchy, had recourse again to Corinth for a general to command their forces. Accordingly Acetorides was sent to fill his post, who, upon his arrival, found that Syracuse could never enjoy a perfect tranquility as long as Agathocles was alive; and therefore formed a design of dispatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner we have related in the history of Syracuse. But Agathocles by a stratagem eluded that attempt; and making his escape, raised a body of forces in the heart of the island, with which he prepared to attack Syracuse. The Carthaginians, informed of his design, were struck with terror as well as the people of Syracuse; and therefore, at the instigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal consequences of a civil war. However, he was obliged to swear in a solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy.

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, Agathocles still pursued the point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, at last raised himself to the throne of Syracuse. Not content with this sovereignty, he proposed to turn his arms against the other cities of Sicily, desiring to make himself master of the whole island. Beginning therefore with Messana, he seized upon a fort in the territory of that city, and, being in-

*Agathocles
swears to
do nothing
at Syracuse
to the pre-
judice of
the demo-
cracy;*

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. xix. cap. 1. ² Idem ibid. Iud. lib. xxii.

formed that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise Messana itself; but being disappointed, he laid siege to the castle of Mylae, which surrendered at discretion. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon Messana; but the citizens, knowing what treatment they were to expect if the city fell into his hands, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed him in several attacks. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, being applied to, sent ambassadors, complaining of such a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not willing to draw upon himself the whole power of Carthage, submitted to the terms prescribed; and in consequence of a peace with the people of Messana, concluded by the mediation of Carthage, he not only withdrew his army from before their city, but restored likewise the castle of Mylae. Upon which the Carthaginian ambassadors, having happily executed their commission, returned to Africa.

The confederated Sicilian cities make a peace with him.

But the restless spirit of Agathocles would not suffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of Gela, Messana, and Agrigentum, entered into a confederacy against him, and sent to the Lacedæmonians for a general, not daring to trust any of their own principal citizens, suspecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But finding that Acrotatus, who came from Sparta to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even Agathocles himself, they not only refused to act under his conduct, but even attempted to stone him. Hamilcar therefore, the Carthaginian general, judging this favourable juncture to accommodate matters between Agathocles and the confederated cities, proposed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at last ratified upon the following conditions: first, that the Carthaginians should remain in possession of Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera; and secondly, that all the other cities dependent on the Syracusans should be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it appears, that the cities above mentioned were at that time greatly in the interest of the Carthaginians.

Agathocles breaks this treaty. Agathocles, perceiving his subjects disposed to second his ambitious views, shewed as little regard to this last treaty as he had before done to his oath; therefore, in violation of the second article, he first made war on the neighbouring states, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the island. He was attended in these expeditions with such extraordinary success, that in the space of two years he entirely subdued all the Greek part of Sicily. This rapid progress alarmed the Carthaginians, who saw their territories

ries threatened with the same fate, especially as the tyrant had strengthened himself by many alliances, and besides a powerful army, composed of his own forces, and those of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, consisting of ten thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, all excellent troops.* On the other hand, Agathocles, being sensible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the Carthaginians, and that they were very angry with Hamilcar for being instrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the necessary preparations, not only to put himself into a good posture of defence, but even to act offensively in case of a war with Carthage. Things being in this situation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon ensue.

It is intimated by Justin, that Agathocles was at first supported by the Carthaginians, or rather by Hamilcar, their general in Sicily; and that the tyrant effected the massacre above mentioned by the assistance of five thousand Africans sent him by Hamilcar. After the reduction of the other parts of Sicily, he made incursions into the Carthaginian territories, and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, Hamilcar not giving him the least disturbance. This connivance highly incensed the people of those districts, who considered themselves as betrayed by Hamilcar; and therefore sent letters to Carthage, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct, and Agathocles's tyranny; adding, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with Carthage had been sacrificed, and delivered into the tyrant's hands. This remonstrance greatly exasperated the senate; but as Hamilcar was invested with great power in Sicily, they suspended their resentment till the arrival of Hamilcar, the son of Gisco. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him: they did not think proper however to declare it openly, but threw all the suffrages that passed it into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other Hamilcar came from Sicily. The general, being surprised by death, escaped punishment; and Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

The last place that held out against Agathocles was Messana, whither all the Syracusan exiles had retired. His general Pasiphilus at first marched against it with an army; but having previously received instructions from Agathocles

*He commits
great de-
predations
in the ter-
ritories of
the Car-
thaginians.*

* *Diod. Sic. lib. sup. cap. 5. & Justin. lib. sup. 1. 1. Justin. lib. sup. 2. 2.*

The History of the Carthaginians.

to act as he should think proper for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he seduced the inhabitants into a treaty. This Agathocles likewise infringed when in possession of the town, destroying all who had formerly opposed his government. For, as he intended to prosecute the war against Carthage with the utmost vigour, he thought it a point of good policy to cut off, if possible, all his enemies in Sicily⁴.

The Carthaginians prevent his taking Agrigentum.

In the mean time the Carthaginians arrived with a fleet of sixty sail at Agrigentum, and forced Agathocles to desist from an attempt upon that place, which he had projected; but as they had not brought a sufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged the adjacent country, plundered the subjects of the Carthaginians, and took several of their forts by storm. Whilst he was thus employed, another Carthaginian squadron of fifty ships entered the great harbour of Syracuse, and sunk two transports (one of them an Athenian), which were all the vessels then in port. The Carthaginians, according to their usual cruelty, cut off the hands of all those they found on board, though they had not offered them the least injury, it being impossible to make any resistance. This barbarity was soon retaliated by Agathocles upon the Carthaginians. For several of their gallies, having been separated from the rest of the fleet upon the coast of Italy, fell into his hands⁵.

The Carthaginians assemble a powerful army to oppose him.

The Carthaginians, being informed that Agathocles had pillaged their territories in Sicily, and that his forces were very numerous upon the frontiers, resolved to assemble an army, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received advice, that he had offered battle to a considerable body of their troops posted upon the hill Ecnomos, who were obliged to decline the engagement, they were determined to pursue the war with redoubled vigour. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the Sicilian expedition with two thousand Carthaginians, among whom were many persons of quality, a thousand Etruscan mercenaries, as many slingers from the Balearic islands, and two hundred chariots, they transported them to that island, under the command of Hamilcar, to restrain the tyrant's conquests. The fleet, consisting of a hundred and thirty capital ships, was dispersed by a violent storm, in which Hamilcar lost sixty ships of war, and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. Many persons of the best families of Carthage were lost by this disaster, which caused a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with

⁴ *Diod. Sic. ubi supra, cap. 6.*

⁵ *Idem ibid.*

black.

black. Hamilcar, notwithstanding his loss, being joined on his arrival by the Sicilians who hated Agathocles, found, upon a muster, that his army consisted of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, intending to attack the enemy as soon as a fair opportunity should offer ^x.

In the mean time Agathocles, finding the Carthaginians much superior to him, concluded that many cities would join them, particularly Gela. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a severe blow he had lately received, twenty of his gallies, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians. To prevent the inhabitants of Gela from declaring against him, he found means to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thousand of the citizens to the sword, threatening to use those who did not immediately produce their treasure in the same manner. Having thus filled his coffers, and left a strong garrison in the place, he moved with his forces towards the Carthaginians; and possessing himself of an eminence opposite to the enemy, encamped on it. The Carthaginians had posted themselves upon the hill Economos, on which Phalaris's castle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly stood; and Agathocles possessed another of that tyrant's castles, which from him was called Phalerios, upon the opposite height, being separated from Hamilcar by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed, that a great battle should be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vast carnage should be made, neither side for a long time shewed any disposition to begin the attack, both armies having a superstitious panic upon them. At last a party of Africans, out of bravado, passed the river; and another of Agathocles's troops, to return the compliment, did the same; and this emulation brought on a general action: for the Sicilians, driving off some cattle and beasts of burden belonging to the enemy, were pursued by a Carthaginian detachment, which, immediately upon its arrival on the opposite bank, fell into an ambuscade that Agathocles had contrived to intercept it; and not having time to form itself, was easily routed. This success greatly encouraged Agathocles, who immediately leaving his camp, attacked Hamilcar with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he sustained great loss from the slingers of the Balearic islands, who

*Agathocles
defeated by
the Car-
thaginians
near Hi-
mera.*

With stones of a large size demolished the shields and armours of his soldiers, and destroyed a great number of them : but at this critical juncture a strong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from Carthage, which entirely changed the face of affairs : for the Sicilians, having before made their utmost efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of these succours, and, almost as soon as the enemy rallied, fled, and were so closely pursued, that all the plains of the Himera were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then excessive, great numbers also, who were ready to perish with thirst, drank too copiously of the river-water, which was salt and brackish, and thereby lost their lives. The Carthaginians had five hundred men killed in this battle, but Agathocles at least seven thousand ^y.

The people of Catana, Camarina, Leontium, Taureminium, Abactenum, and Messana, submit to them.

After this defeat, Agathocles, collecting the scattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with precipitation to Gela. He had not been long there, before some of his troops, decoyed three hundred African horse into the place, all of whom to a man he cut off. The tyrant remained some time in Gela, that he might draw the enemy to that city, and thereby prevent the siege of Syracuse, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. Hamilcar, being informed that Gela was defended by a strong garrison, supplied abundantly with all sorts of provisions, and military stores, did not make an attempt upon it, but contented himself with reducing the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of the place, all of which surrendered upon the first summons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of Catana, Cataha, Leontium, and Taureminium, sent ambassadors to implore his protection ; as did soon after those of Messana and Abactenum, though they were before at variance amongst themselves. In such utter abhorrence did the people over the whole island hold the tyrant, and all his adherents ^x.

Agathocles shuts himself up in Syracuse.

Agathocles, finding the Carthaginian general not disposed to undertake either the siege of Gela or Syracuse, repaired to the latter of these places ; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the garrison, and completed all the works, he shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians followed him, and laid close siege to that important place, upon the fate of which depended that of the whole island.

The Carthaginians lay siege to that metropolis.

Agathocles, finding himself deserted by his allies, and his capital itself upon the point of falling into the enemy's hands, formed a design, which, were it not attested by some writers,

^y Idem ibid. & Justin. lib. xxii.

^x Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

tets of undoubted authority, would seem absolutely incredible. This was, to transfer the war into Africa, and invest Carthage, at a time when he was himself besieged, and had only one city left in Sicily : but before he departed from Syracuse, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the place; and appointed his brother Antandrus governor of it. He also gave permission to all persons, who were not willing to endure the fatigues of a siege, to retire from the town ; which many of the principal citizens, Justin says sixteen hundred, accepted of : but they had scarce evacuated the place, when they were cut off by parties posted upon the roads for that purpose. Having seized upon their estates, he raised a considerable sum to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon. However, he carried with him only fifty talents to supply his present wants, being assured that he should find in the enemy's country sufficient supplies. The people could not conjecture what design he intended to execute. Some imagined his intention was to sail to the coast of Italy or Sardinia, to plunder those countries ; others, that he proposed ravaging that part of Sicily belonging to the Carthaginians ; but most persons agreed, that he had engaged in a desperate project. As the Carthaginians had a much superior fleet, they for some time kept the mouth of the harbour blocked up : but at last a fair opportunity offering, Agathocles hoisted sail, and, by the activity of his rowers, soon cleared both the port and city of Syracuse.

The Carthaginians, upon the first sight of the tyrant's fleet, *After a slight engagement with the Carthaginian fleet, he makes descent there.* immediately prepared for action : but observing that this squadron continued its course, and was far before them, they immediately gave chase, crowding all the sail possible. However, Agathocles so exerted himself, that, night coming on, they lost sight of him. Next day a remarkable eclipse of the sun happened, when the stars appeared, and the day seemed to be turned into night. As the Sicilians were extremely superstitious, this event struck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a presage of their approaching destruction : but Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by saying, that if they had seen this before their departure from Sicily, it would have portended a disappointment ; but that, as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of disasters to the Carthaginians, whose dominions they were going to invade. He farther observed, that these eclipses always foretold some

* Diod. Sic. lib. xx. cap. 1. & Justin. ubi suprad. Oros. lib. iv. Polyaen. Strat. lib. 2. cap. 3. ex.

instant change; that therefore happiness was abandoning the enemy, and coming over to them. The Carthaginian admiral, having sailed six days and six nights steering his course towards Africa, at last came up with the Syracusan fleet, then at no great distance from the shore. As both squadrons had the coast of Africa in view, the Carthaginians made the utmost efforts to attack Agathocles before he could land his troops; and on the other hand the tyrant, dreading his fate, if he fell into the hands of so cruel an enemy, was no less active in his endeavours to land, before the Carthaginians could engage him. In short, he had just begun to execute his design, when part of the Carthaginian squadron coming up with his rear, a slight engagement ensued. The weapons chiefly used on this occasion were bows and slings, the vessels not being close enough to grapple. As but a small part of the Carthaginian fleet found it possible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, Agathocles gained the advantage; whereupon the Carthaginians, tacking about, stood off to sea. This motion gave him an opportunity of making a descent at a place called the Quarries, without any farther opposition^b.

Soon after his landing he burns his ships. Agathocles having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and secured his shipping by a breast-work or parapet, offered a solemn sacrifice to Ceres and Proserpina, the guardians of Sicily. After this ceremony he summoned a council of war, composed of such officers as were entirely at his devotion. Here he appeared in his royal robes, and acquainted them, that when they were so closely pursued by the Carthaginians, he had applied to the two goddesses, promising, upon his arrival in Africa, to consecrate all the vessels of the squadron to them, by reducing them to so many burning lamps. Since therefore they were now delivered from the enemy, he said his intention was to perform his vow concerning the whole fleet. He then exhorted them to distinguish themselves on the present occasion, declaring that by the sacrifices the gods promised great success. Amongst other motives urged for this desperate action, Agathocles likewise informed them, that the cities of Africa were not fortified and built on mountains, as in Sicily, and therefore could not make any defence; and that the immense wealth of Carthage must soon infallibly become the reward of their valour. He concluded with desiring them not to be alarmed at the loss of their ships, since the goddesses would hereafter return them a far greater

^b Diodor. Sic & Julian. ubi supra. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 12. ex. 9.

number. Having uttered these words a soldier brought him a torch, which he eagerly seizing, went on board his own ship, and set it on fire. His example was cheerfully followed by all the officers and men; so that the troops having no time to reflect on the consequence, the whole fleet was immediately consumed. This seems to have been one of the most desperate actions recorded in history.

Agathocles, after he had destroyed his ships, marched at the head of his troops against a place in the territories of Carthage, called the Great City, leaving the soldiers no time for reflection. This, after a feeble resistance, he took by storm. As he was desirous of inspiring his troops with fresh courage, he abandoned to them the plunder of the place, which was very considerable. That this was a town of importance, and called in the Punic language Samath, Sumeth, or Samatho, is evident from Alexander Polyhistor, Stephanus, and others.

From hence the tyrant moved with his army to Tunes, a city of eminence in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which being intimidated by so unexpected a visit, immediately surrendered. The troops would willingly have rested here, as well as at Samatho, for some time; but Agathocles making them place all hopes of safety in victory, levelled both those places with the ground, and encamped in the open fields.

In the mean time the Carthaginians on board the gallies, that came up with Agathocles, just before he made his descent, expressed great joy upon seeing the Sicilian ships in a blaze, imagining this conflagration to be the effect of fear; but they were of another opinion when they observed the enemy marching in good order into the country, being then convinced that a push was intended to be made at Carthage itself. They immediately spread a great number of hides upon the forecastles of their ships, which was a constant signal of some impending public calamity. They also carried on board their own vessels the iron beaks belonging to the Sicilian ships that had been destroyed, and dispatched an express to Carthage to give the senate a particular account of every event that had happened: but the whole country was so alarmed upon the first appearance of the enemy's squadron on the African coast, that, before his arrival, intelligence of their unexpected descent had reached Carthage, and thrown the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They concluded, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost; for that, in any

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Tunes.*

*The Car-
thaginians
are greatly
alarmed at
this motion.*

other situation of affairs, it was possible for Agathocles to leave Syracuse, and pass over into Africa, they could not believe. The people ran with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was with rapid marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore advised sending ambassadors to Agathocles to propose an accommodation, and at the same time to discover the posture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true state of affairs before any public step was taken; and this opinion prevailed⁴.

But make preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

Whilst the city was in this agitation, the courier sent by the Carthaginian admiral arrived, and informed the senate of the destruction of the Sicilian fleet, and that Agathocles was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However, he told them, that their troops in Sicily were all safe, and in good condition; that they pushed on the siege of Syracuse with the utmost vigour; that the body of forces under Agathocles was not very considerable; and that the advantage he had lately gained by sea, was attended with no other consequence in his favour than enabling him barely to land his troops. This intelligence calmed the minds of the people, so that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the senate severely reprimanded the officers for their negligence in suffering the enemy to make a descent when they were masters at sea. It was now resolved that the citizens should be armed, and accordingly in a few days they raised an army of forty thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, with two thousand armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to command the forces, notwithstanding the feud that had long subsisted between their respective families, hoping that, forgetting private animosities, they would jointly exert themselves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this hope however they were deceived, for Bomilcar having long thirsted after arbitrary power, passionately wished for an opportunity of subverting the form of government at Carthage; which design, believing the post above mentioned would enable him to execute, he accepted of it with that view only. As the Carthaginians frequently brought false accusations against their generals

⁴ Diod. Sic. & Justin. ab his temp.

after the conclusion of a peace, and through envy put many of them most unjustly to death, it is not surprising that sometimes, in order to avoid such perfidious treatment, they either resigned their commissions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power^a.

In the mean time Agathocles committed great ravages, demolishing several castles, and burning many villages on his march, though his army did not consist of above fourteen thousand men. The Carthaginian generals, to make a diversion, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, possessed themselves of an eminence in sight of his camp, and drew up their forces in order of battle. Hanno commanded the right wing, supported by the (I) sacred cohort; Bomilcar conducted the left, making his phalanx very deep, since the nature of the ground would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed as usual in the van. Agathocles, on the other side, made a proper disposition of his forces, which were composed of Syracusans, Samnites, Etruscans, Celtes, and Greek mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his son Archagathus; the other, at the head of the troops of the household, and a thousand cuirassiers, opposite to the Carthaginian sacred cohort, he commanded himself; and lastly, the slingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were distributed in both wings to the greatest advantage. Finding many of his soldiers unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and cases of shields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpose, and to carry those before them, as if they had been real. By this stratagem, though none of the most refined, he imposed upon the enemy, and prevented the nakedness of his troops from being exposed to their view^b.

Agathocles was in great consternation when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he dis-

^a Died. Sic. ubi supra.

^b Idem ibid.

(I) The sacred cohort consisted of the sons of senators, and the prime nobility, who seem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. The precise number of this corps cannot be determined; but from Appian we may conclude, that it consisted of about four thousand men. It was composed of volunteers of distinction, who might be esteemed as the general's guard and peculiar friends.

and entirely overthrows them.

fumbled his spear, and, in order to encourage his men, who were quite dispirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy's horse and chariots, he released several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These flying about the camp, and lighting on the soldiers shields, so raised their spirits, that they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting but by the assistance of Minerva, to whom that bird was sacred, they should gain a complete victory. The first charge was made by the enemy's chariots and cavalry intermixed; but the body of Sicilian troops opposed to them, not only withstood their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced some of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the rest back into the midst of their own foot. This repulse naturally threw the foot into confusion, and occasioned the defeat of the horse; for these, finding themselves deprived of their principal support, were easily broken, and never afterwards made the least attempt to rally. However, Hanno, with the sacred cohort, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them in disorder; but being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the last. His death occasioning the right wing to give ground, inspired Agathocles and his troops with such ardor, that they bore down all before them, though for some time they were most vigorously opposed by the enemy. Bomilcar, understanding that his colleague was slain, considered this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of possessing himself of the sovereignty, to which he had long aspired. Though it was in his power to have bettered the situation of affairs, yet being sensible that he could not accomplish the design he had in view, if the army of Agathocles should be destroyed, but might easily put it in execution if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he should be able to subdue Agathocles whenever he pleased. Accordingly, acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he enjoined them to keep their ranks, and retire to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was so precipitate, that it appeared like a flight, the Africans in the rear imagined that the rest of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into disorder. This being observed by Agathocles, he took advantage of their confusion, so that he gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of Hanno, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they found them.

themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. Then, indeed, adverting to their own safety, they retired in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head against their pursuers; but not being supported by Bomilcar, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to Carthage, not having been pursued far by Agathocles, who returned with great expedition to take possession of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his soldiers to plunder for their farther encouragement. Here, among other rich spoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanship, that carried twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the Sicilian prisoners, not doubting but they should fill all the dungeons in Carthage. Of the Sicilians, according to Diodorus, not above two hundred were slain, and about a thousand Carthaginians, or, as others assert, six thousand. Justin makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides; for he tells us, that two thousand Sicilians, and three thousand Carthaginians, fell in this battle. As Bomilcar quitted the field without fighting, and Agathocles did not long continue the pursuit, it is probable that the slaughter was not very considerable, and that both sides suffered nearly alike, especially since the sacred cohort behaved with such unparalleled resolution. Justin likewise differs from Diodorus in his account of the strength of the Carthaginian forces in this action. For whereas the former affirms their army to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it consisted only of thirty thousand men. Be that as it may, the Carthaginians suffered a total defeat, when they thought themselves in a manner certain of victory.

Though the Carthaginians had sustained no very considerable loss in the late engagement, they were extremely dispirited, believing the gods fought against them. They could not imagine it possible for Agathocles, after his whole army had been routed in Sicily, and he reduced almost to the necessity of surrendering his metropolis, to land in Africa, in spite of a powerful fleet, with the shattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interposition of some superior being. Under the influence of this persuasion, they endeavoured to appease the offended deities, particularly Hercules and Saturn, whom they considered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had sent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to Tyre, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector both of Car-

Yr. of Fl.
209.
Ante Chr.
309.

*The Carthaginians
endeavour
to appease
some deities;*

Carthage

thage and her mother city. This custom for many ages had been religiously observed; but their revenues at last growing immensely large, they not only had omitted to raise the tenths sacred to Hercules, but even discontinued their ancient acknowledgement to that deity. For this sacrilegious avarice they now imagined themselves punished; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their insincerity, and sent the golden shrines of their other deities to Hercules at Tyre, believing, that such sacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. In ancient times it was usual to sacrifice children of the most noble families to Saturn, as has been above observed; but for some years past in these sacrifices they had substituted children of mean extraction, secretly bought and maintained for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. This they now considered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honours due to him, and consequently were conscious of having given him just cause of offence. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice of two hundred children of the first rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other persons, sensible of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the sentiments of the Carthaginians at this juncture, and such the method, they apprehended, would prove the most effectual in reconciling the offended deities. For they imagined the gods were the immediate authors of the bad success that attended their arms. But it is probable, that soon after, upon the discovery of Bomilcar's perfidious conduct, they admitted at least of the concurrence of an inferior cause².

*and recall
Hamilcar
from Si-
cily:*

After these expiations, the Carthaginians thought proper likewise to make use of human means for their preservation. They, therefore, dispatched messengers to Hamilcar in Sicily, with advice of what had happened in Africa, and express orders to come to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, Hamilcar commanded them not to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the contrary, to publish amongst the troops, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces cut off, and his fleet destroyed, by the Carthaginians. This report threw every part of the city into the utmost confusion, the women running about the streets in a distracted manner, and every house being filled

² Polya. p. 334. Q. Curt. lib. iv cap. 4, 5. Pescen. Fest. apud Laetant. Divin. Instr. lib. vii cap. 1. Died. Sic. lib. supra, &c.

with outcries and lamentations. Some bemoaned the death of Agathocles and his sons; others the loss of their friends, who were supposed to be slain in Africa; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. However, Eurypon the Aetolian prevailed upon Antandrus not to consent to a capitulation, but to stand a general assault. Hamilcar being informed of this resolution, prepared his battering-engines to play against the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town.

Whilst matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of Syracuse, whose rowers, crowned with garlands, and singing the Io Pcean, made directly to the city. This vessel Agathocles built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with some of his best rowers, under the conduct of Nearchus, dispatched it to Syracuse, to carry the agreeable news of his late victory. The Carthaginian guard-ships, discovering it, gave chase so briskly, that it must infallibly have fallen into their hands, had not the Syracusans advanced to its relief, when it was within a little distance of the shore. Hamilcar, observing that the garrison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to apply scaling-ladders, and begin the intended assault. The Carthaginians having mounted the ramparts without being discovered, had almost possessed themselves of a spot lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute ensued; but at last the Carthaginians were repulsed with considerable loss. Hamilcar, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such joyful tidings had restored life and resolution to the Syracusans, withdrew his forces from before the place, and sent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in Africa^b.

*who raises
the siege of
Syracuse,
and sends a
detachment
of five
thousand
men to
Africa.*

Agathocles, after his victory over the Carthaginians, finding no enemy to oppose, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Many cities likewise, either through fear, or aversion to the Carthaginians, joined him, by which means his army being considerably reinforced, he marched towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at Tunca. The first place he attacked was the New City, which he carried sword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to Adrumetum, and laid siege to it. The Carthaginians, recovering by degrees

*Agathocles
reduces
most of the
places of
note in the
proper ter-
ritory of
Carthage.*

from the consternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progress Agathocles made, as also of his being supported by Elymas king of Libya, immediately raised another army, and marched against Tunes. After a vigorous resistance, they made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks so pressed the town, that it was soon reduced to great extremity. Agathocles receiving intelligence of the enemy's success, left the greater part of his army to carry on the siege of Adrumetum, and, with a small body of troops, privately posted himself on the top of a mountain between Adrumetum and Tunes, from whence he could reconnoitre both his own camp and that of the Carthaginians. Here he ordered his soldiers to make large fires in the night, that the Carthaginians might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of Tunes; and, on the other hand, the garrison of Adrumetum might be induced to believe, that a strong reinforcement was marching to his camp. The stratagem answered both these intentions. For the Carthaginians raised the siege of Tunes with so much precipitation, that they left all their battering-engines behind; and the Adrumetines were so intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. He afterwards took Thapsus by storm, and reduced above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. Justin intimates, that he put a great number of people to the sword in this expedition; but as the contrary seems to appear from Diodorus, we must not credit this particular. Perhaps the author extracted this article from Timæus Siculus, who painted all the expeditions of Agathocles, and his whole life, in the blackest colours. However, he subdued the whole territory of Carthage. But hearing that Elymas, king of Libya, in violation of the late treaty, had declared against him, he immediately entered Libya Superior, and in a pitched battle overthrew that prince, putting to the sword great part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This defeat obliged the Libyan monarch to recall the body of auxiliaries he had sent to the assistance of the Carthaginians, and enabled Agathocles to march against that nation, who had formed the siege of Tunes a second time. Advancing with great expedition, he encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy, and ordered that no fires should be made in the camp. This precaution prevented the Carthaginians from having any suspicion of his approach. So that, advancing all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp. Here meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering the adjacent

adjacent country, he charged them with such fury, that two thousand were killed upon the spot, many taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. The Carthaginians, being extremely mortified at this disaster, and receiving advice, that Elymas had been obliged to recall his troops, without waiting for Agathocles, abandoned the siege!

It has been before observed, that Hamilcar sent only a detachment of five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country: keeping therefore the main body of his forces together, he still entertained hopes of forcing Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He spent some time in making himself master of the cities which had joined the Syracusans; and after having brought all their allies under subjection, returned to Syracuse, hoping to surprise the city, by attacking it in the night. The Syracusans were, before the approach of the Carthaginian army, reduced to some difficulties; for Hamilcar had not only cut off all supplies of provisions by sea, but likewise destroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could find in their territory, and had attempted to possess himself of the castle of Olympia, or Olympieum, lying before the town. However, they were not discouraged, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous defence; and suspecting Hamilcar to have formed a design of surprising the city, they, by way of precaution, ordered a body of three thousand foot and four hundred horse to take post in Euryalus, the citadel of Epipole. About midnight Hamilcar advanced, at the head of a strong party, to begin the attack, and was supported by Dinocrates, general of the horse. His army was divided into two bodies, one formed of the Carthaginian forces, the other of the Greek mercenaries, which were followed by a confused multitude, composed of various nations, who attended the army for the sake of plunder. The passes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for some time found it impossible to proceed; and therefore the Barbarians, of which it consisted, quarrelling about the road, came at last to blows, and universal confusion ensued. The Syracusans posted at Euryalus, taking advantage of this incident, made a sally; and after having terribly galled the Carthaginians with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked Hamilcar, who at first received the enemy with great resolution, calling out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to sustain the shock of the enemy; but the Syracusans having seized upon the passes, and there not being room for

Hamilcar
entirely de-
feated by
the Syra-
cusan.

Yr. of Fl.
5040.
Ante Chr.
308.

so numerous an army as Hamilcar's to act, great numbers of the Carthaginian foot were trod to death by their own horses; and the confusion they were at first thrown into being increased by the darkness of the night, one part of their army engaged the other; so that the defeat became general, and the slaughter dreadful. Hamilcar, being deserted by his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into Syracuse ⁴.

The day after this defeat, the Carthaginians rallied their shattered troops at some distance from Syracuse; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst themselves about the choice of a successor. The exiles and Greek mercenaries chose Dinoocrates for their commander, and the Carthaginians vested with the supreme command of the national troops the Carthaginian officer who was next in dignity to the late general. The Agrigentines, finding the Carthaginians and Syracusans had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter were in great distress for want of provisions, judged this a favourable opportunity of seizing upon the sovereignty of the whole island. They therefore levied a considerable army for that purpose, under the command of Xenodicus, one of their countrymen. This army was soon reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the city of Gela, which Xenodicus had found means to engage in the Agrigentine interest. He first surprised Enya, and then marched to Herbesfus, which was defended by a Carthaginian garrison. Upon his arrival, he immediately caused it to be attacked. For some time the garrison made a vigorous defence; but at last the inhabitants declaring in favour of the besiegers, the town, after a warm dispute, was taken; on which occasion a great number of Carthaginians were killed, and above five hundred taken prisoners. In fine, the Agrigentines prosecuted this war with such success, that in a short time they wrested many places of consequence both from Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians gain an advantage over the Syracusans by sea.

The Syracusans in the mean time being threatened with a famine, and informed that some vessels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty gallies to intercept them. As the Carthaginians had entertained no suspicion of such an attempt, the Syracusans found an opportunity of slipping by them; and for some time pursued their course in quest of the transports: but the Carthagi-

⁴ Diod. Sicil. lib. xxii. cap. 7. Justin. lib. xxii. cap. 7. Lub. iair. & Orol. lib. xv. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. cap. 1.

nians, being apprised of what had happened, pursued them with thirty gallies; and coming up with them off Hybla, immediately attacked them. The Syracusans prepared for a warm engagement; but being soon driven on shore, they abandoned their ships, and taking shelter in the temple of Juno, endeavoured to defend themselves against the Carthaginians. After a sharp dispute, the latter, by means of their grapping-irons, carried ten of them off; but the rest were drawn on shore by the assistance of the garrison of Hybla, who, upon the first intelligence of the action, advanced to the relief of the Syracusans^m.

Agathocles, having forced the Carthaginians to raise a second time the siege of Tunes, and reduced all the places subject to them, prepared to besiege Carthage itself; and, for this purpose advanced with his army to a post within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when Agathocles received advice of the defeat of the Carthaginian forces before Syracuse, and the head of Hamilcar their general, who, being taken prisoner in the action, had been murdered in Syracuse. Upon receiving such agreeable news, Agathocles rode up to the enemy's camp, and producing the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army in Sicily. This threw the whole army into the utmost consternation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. The Barbarians, according to the custom of their country, prostrated themselves before the head of their prince; for Hamilcar, at the time of his death, according to Diodorus, was one of the Carthaginian suffetes. In short, they were so dejected at the publication of this melancholy account, that, in all probability, Agathocles would soon have made himself master of Carthage, and put a glorious end to the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, nearly fatal to the tyrant himself, and which gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of recovering themselvesⁿ.

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by Agathocles to supper, and heated with wine, reflected upon the tyrant's conduct in the most opprobrious terms, uttering at the same time the most bitter imprecations. Agathocles, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but

The Carthaginians greatly dejected at the defeat of their army.

A meeting in Agathocles' camp.

^m Diod. Sic. ubi sup. cap. 8. . . . ⁿ Idem. Ibid. Vide & Curiat. Hestr. in Carthag. lib. ii. fest. s. p. 463.

his son Archagathus, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, Lyciscus charged Archagathus with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with Alcia, his father's wife. This accusation incensed Archagathus to fury and madness; so that he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guards, and immediately piercing Lyciscus, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at this assassination, filled the whole camp with tumult and confusion. To these many officers, who were justly obnoxious to the tyrant's displeasure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themselves from future apprehensions of punishment, joined in exciting the troops to revolt. The whole army was soon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of Archagathus, or Agathocles, if this last refused to deliver up his son into their hands. The troops, therefore, electing new officers to command them, soon possessed themselves of the walls of Tunis, and surrounded the tyrant and his son, with their whole body of guards. The Carthaginians, apprised of what had happened, dispatched messengers to the Sicilian forces, promising them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and engage in their service. Agathocles, seeing himself in the most imminent danger, especially as many of his officers had already embraced the enemy's proposal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own soldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and insulting enemy, divested himself of his royal robes, and in the habit of a poor peasant, appeared in the midst of his troops. This strange sight so confounded them, that there was a deep silence all over the camp; which Agathocles taking advantage of, made a speech suitable to the occasion. He gave a detail of the most memorable actions in which he had been concerned; concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the sake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to end his days immediately, if his fellow-soldiers deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his sword, as though his intention was to have killed himself upon the spot. But when he was upon the point of thrusting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear, and desiring him to resume his purple robe, and other ensigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This event greatly disappointed the Carthaginians, who were in expectation of being joined by the most considerable

siderable part, at least of the tyrant's army, not dreading of what was really in agitation at that time in the Sicilian camp. Agathocles therefore surprised a strong body of the enemy, who had posted themselves near his troops, that they might be at hand to join them on their revolt; and having put them to the rout, drove them back to their camp with great slaughter. Thus Agathocles not only extricated himself out of a great difficulty, in which his son's imprudence had involved him, but likewise defeated the enemy, when they beheld his situation as desperate. However, the ringleaders of the mutiny, and two hundred others, went over in a body to the Carthaginians ^o.

Nevertheless, though the tyrant's affairs took so happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny were, in some measure, fatal to him; for it gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the fatal ruin of their army in Sicily, and the death of their general, had thrown them. Could Agathocles have attacked the Carthaginian forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would have easily defeated them, and Carthage must have fallen. But this unfortunate incident gave them time to shake off their panic, and make such preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeseen events, baffled all the tyrant's future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the African princes, to whom he sent ambassadors, inviting them to join in the common cause, and assist him in overturning that impious republic, which with so much haughtiness lorded it over them. These remonstrances, together with the fame of his victories, had such an effect upon the Numidians, that immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the Carthaginians ^p.

Next year the people of Carthage, notwithstanding their deplorable situation, sent an army into Numidia to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the Zuphons, a nation of that country, brought back many to their duty. Agathocles being informed of their success, and fearing to lose the benefit of so seasonable a diversion, left his son Archagathus, with part of his forces, at Tunes; and with the rest, consisting of eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all chosen men, together with fifty African carriages, for greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the Nu-

which had
a bad effect
upon his
affairs.

A drawn
battle be-
tween Ag-
athocles
and the
Carthagi-
nians.

midians. The Carthaginians, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the opposite bank of a deep, and seemingly impassable river, in order to prevent a surprize; from whence they detached a body of light Numidian horse, to obstruct his march, and harass him by continual alarms. To keep these at bay, Agathocles sent out parties of his slingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up ready to receive him. Upon his first attempting to pass the river, he was charged by a body of the Carthaginians with great fury, and lost a considerable number of men. But his troops, notwithstanding the gallant resistance they met with, at last gained the opposite bank, where they furiously attacked the enemy. Most of the Carthaginian troops were, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of Greek auxiliaries, under the command of Clinon, for a considerable time sustained the shock of the whole Syracusean army, where they did great execution; though at last they were forced to retreat. Agathocles, not judging it expedient to pursue such resolute soldiers, attacked the Carthaginian camp in two places at once; but by reason of its being strongly fortified, was quickly repulsed. Nevertheless, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his Numidian allies. But these, during the heat of the engagement, kept themselves neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the Carthaginians, they durst not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of Agathocles, which was at some distance, and defended only by a small guard. This they plundered, after having put to the sword, or taken prisoners all that defended it; of which disaster Agathocles being apprised, he flew thither, and recovered part of the spoil. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, not only preferred themselves by this defection of the Numidians, but re-established their affairs in Numidia upon the ancient footing.

Agathocles gains over Ophellas, prince of the Cyrenaean, to his interest. Though the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himself unable to carry on the war alone, he endeavoured to gain Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, then possessed of Cyrenaica, over to his interest. With this view he sent Orthon, a Syracusean, as ambassador to that prince. Ophellas had at this time a considerable army on foot, and was forming a project to enlarge his dominions. Agathocles therefore flattered his ambition,

by promising him the sovereignty of Africa, if by his assistance he should enable him to subdue the Carthaginians. He suggested, that could he subdue so troublesome a rival, he should easily reduce the whole island of Sicily, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that had he more extensive views, Italy was near at hand, where he could make farther conquests; that being separated from Africa by a large sea, he had no intention to settle in that country; and that his last expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but necessity. Ophellas was entirely won by these suggestions, and to succour his new ally the more effectually, sent to Athens for a body of troops. As he had married Eurydice, the daughter of Miltiades, who commanded the Greeks at the battle of Marathon, and was made free of the city, he obtained his request, the Athenians not doubting but they should share with him and Agathocles all the wealth of the Carthaginians. The humble condition to which that people, as well as the other states of Greece, were then reduced by civil dissensions, and the immediate prospect they had of considerable gain, made them exert themselves on this occasion with the greater alacrity.

Ophellas, having finished his military preparations, found his army to consist of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse, all regular troops, besides a hundred chariots, and a body of ten thousand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of these forces he continued his march towards Agathocles for eighteen days, and then encamped at Automolæ (A), a city about three thousand stadia distant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the Regio Syrtica, but found himself reduced to such extremities, that his army was in danger of perishing for want of water and provisions. Besides, they were greatly annoyed by serpents and wild beasts, with which that desolate region was infested. The serpents made the greatest havock amongst the troops; for being of the same colour with the earth, and extremely venomous, many of the soldiers trod upon them, and were stung to death. At last,

Yr. of Fl.
204¹.
Ante Chr.
307.
—

and cuts
him off by
treachery.

¹ Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Justin. Orat. ubi supra.

(A) This city seems to be the Automalax of Ptolemy, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of Cyrenica. It was situate, according to Stras-

bo, at the bottom of the Greater Syria, now called the Gulf of Seide, at a small distance from the Philaeum are the Carthaginian frontier.

after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached Agathocles, and encamped at a small distance from him, to the great terror of the Carthaginians, who apprehended the most fatal consequences from this junction. Agathocles at first caressed him, and advised him to take all possible care of his troops, that had undergone so many fatigues; but making no scruple to commit the most enormous crimes, in order to promote his own interest, he resolved upon his destruction. Observing, therefore, that one day the greatest part of Ophellas's troops were detached to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his design in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that Ophellas was guilty of the blackest perfidy, since, under the pretext of assisting him as an ally, he had formed a scheme to deliver him up to the enemy. Incensed at this accusation, the army attacked Ophellas; who being at that juncture too weak to oppose them, was killed upon the spot; upon which Agathocles, by large promises, prevailed upon the Cyreneans, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him. Polyænus relates this event in a different manner from Diodorus; for he asserts, that Agathocles, being informed that Ophellas was addicted to an unnatural species of lust, decoyed him by means of his son Heracles, who yet preserved himself inviolate; and put both him and the greatest part of his army to the sword.

*a great revolution
like to have
happened at
Carthage.*

During these transactions a great revolution had like to have happened at Carthage. Bomilcar, then possessed of the first employment in the state, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the sovereignty of that city, to which he had long aspired. In order to facilitate the execution of this design, he had engaged all the most eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obstruction, to serve in the Numidian expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his associates, supported by a body of a thousand mercenaries, he advanced from Neapolis to Carthage, and entered the city without opposition. He cut off all the citizens he met without regard to sex or age; a massacre which struck the whole city with incredible terror, every one imagining that the town was betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at last his troops all joined in the forum. However, when it was known that Bomilcar had been the occasion of this disturbance, and

Diod. sic. Justin. & Orosius impri. Polyæn. Grec. lib. v. cap. 3. et. 4. Vide & Cyprian. de Plaut. lib. iv. cap. 4. Plut. in Demet. & Parian. in Corinthus.

had besides caused himself to be proclaimed king of Carthage; the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. The traitor, finding himself unable to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to Neapolis; but being closely pursued by the Carthaginians, who by this time had assembled a sufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, intending to make a vigorous defence. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general amnesty was proclaimed to all who would lay down their arms. The rebels surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it except Bomilcar their chief; but he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promised on oath, was condemned to die, and fastened to a cross in the middle of the forum, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from the rostra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, to many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus inveighed against the authors of his punishment, he expired, By his death delivering the Carthaginians from the most dangerous domestic enemy their state had ever produced.

Had Agathocles been informed of Bomilcar's ambition, or of the disorder and confusion in the city of Carthage, he might easily have reduced it; for if the latter could have been supported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the Carthaginians entertained any suspicion of Ophellas's impending danger, by joining him, or at least sending him a strong reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown Agathocles; as in some measure appeared from the future course of this war: but the generals on both sides being resolved on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were not intent upon observing the motions of each other, and by this neglect undesignedly contributed to their mutual preservation.

Agathocles, now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of Alexander's captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, assumed the title of king of Africa, intending soon to complete his conquests in that country by the reduction of Carthage. However,

Agathocles assumes the title of king of Africa, and takes Utica by storm.

for the present, his arms were otherwise employed against the Uticans. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with such expedition towards their city, that he surprised three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all prisoners. These he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and exposed in such a manner to the darts and arrows of the besieged, that they could not repel his assaults without destroying their own citizens, among whom were some of the first nobility. He then summoned the garrison to surrender, imagining they would be induced to submission by the sight of their friends and relations. At first they refused to defend themselves, for fear of destroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy pushing on the siege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous resistance they must soon be conquered, they betook themselves to arms, and in several assaults bravely repulsed the assailants. At last Agathocles made a general assault upon the weakest part of the wall, and carried it: nevertheless the Uticans for some time kept their posts; but the tyrant's whole army rushing into the town, and soon driving them partly into the temples and partly into their own houses, they were all either put to the sword or taken prisoners.

As likewise Hippo Diarrhytus. The tyrant, having hanged all the prisoners, plundered the town, and left a sufficient garrison in it, marched with his army to Hippouacra, or Hippo Diarrhytus, the Bizerta of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it stood. Before he could reduce this city he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his gallies; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks closely for some days, he at last took it by storm. Most of the people bordering on the sea-coasts, and even those inhabiting the inland part of the country, terrified at his success, submitted to his command. He found himself not able to subdue the Numidians; however, many of their hordes or cantons concluded a treaty of peace with him.

Xenodochus defeated by Demophilius and Leptines. In the mean time Xenodochus, general of the Agrigentines, having restored many of the cities in Sicily to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the subjects both of the Carthaginians and Syracusans, entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the island in favour of liberty. Animated by these hopes great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an association, in order to extirpate tyranny. Agathocles receiving advice of this commotion

from Demophilus and Leptines, the commanders of his troops in Sicily, was greatly alarmed; and therefore resolved to return home, which he thought he might safely do for a time, as his affairs on the continent were in a very flourishing condition. Having therefore built some open vessels, with fifty oars a-piece, and put two thousand men on board, he sailed for Sicily, leaving his son Archagathus governor of the conquests in Africa, and commander in chief of the forces. Upon his arrival at Selinus he found that Demophilus and Leptines had not only assembled a powerful army, but likewise defeated Xenodochus in a pitched battle, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. After this victory Agathocles advanced to Therma, a city possessed by a Carthaginian garrison, which immediately submitted. Cephalodium, Heraclea, and other places that had regained their liberty, he likewise reduced; but could not make himself master of the principal cities belonging to the Carthaginians *.

Agathocles
returns to
Sicily.

Archagathus, after his father's departure, greatly extended the conquests in Africa. He sent Eumachus, at the head of a large detachment, to invade some of the neighbouring provinces, whilst himself, with the gros of his army, watched the motions of the Carthaginians. Eumachus falling into Numidia, first took the great city of Tocas, and conquered several of the Numidian cantons that would not enter into an alliance with Agathocles. Afterwards he laid siege to Phellina, and carried it; a conquest which was attended with the submission of the Asphodelodians, a nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Ethiopians. From hence he marched to Mascalæ, a city of great importance, founded by the Greeks in their return from Troy, and inhabited by their posterity for several succeeding ages, which opened its gates at his approach. Then he moved to Hippouacra, which, since its surrender to Agathocles, had revolted to the enemy, and made himself master of it. Lastly, he possessed himself of Acris (E), a free city of great opu-

Archaga-
thus meets
with great
success in
Africa.

* Diod. Sic. & Just. ubi supra, cap. 8.

(E) Neither the city of Tocas nor those of Phellina, Mascalæ, Acris, nor yet the nation of the Asphodelodians, though mentioned by Cellarius, whose work is yet held in the highest repute. They all seem to have had their origin in the Moors themselves.

that part of Numidia contiguous to Africa Propria, and not far from Hippo Diarrhytus. It is probable those auxiliary troops taken prisoners by Gelon in his engagement with the Carthaginians, which Proprinius calls Nigerians, were of this nation.

lence, which he gave up to the soldiers for plunder, and sold the inhabitants for slaves ; after which successes he returned to the camp, loaden with the immense booty he had acquired ^x.

*His general
Eumachus
penetrates
into the
more re-
mote parts
of Africa.*

Elated with his good fortune, Eumachus resolved to penetrate into the more remote parts of Africa on the side of Numidia. With this view, continuing his march, he arrived at Miltine, and forced his way into the city : but notwithstanding this first instance of success, the Barbarians, immediately collecting their whole force, attacked him with such fury, that they obliged him to retreat from the town in great confusion, after he had lost a great number of men. From hence he advanced to a high mountain, two hundred fadia over, which, having passed with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the Greek language Pitheciæ, from the apes (F), with which all the adjacent country abounded. One of these he took by assault, and levelled it with the ground ; a circumstance which so terrified the other two, that they immediately surrendered : but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests, and retreated with precipitation towards the sea-coasts ^y.

*The dispo-
sitions of Ar-
chagathus,
and the
Carthagi-
nians.*

Hitherto Archagathus had been extremely fortunate ; but this last unhappy expedition of Eumachus occasioned a very considerable alteration in the face of his affairs. The Carthaginians, being informed of that general's ill success, took courage, and resolved to exert themselves to retrieve their former losses. They divided their forces into three bodies : one of these they sent to the sea-coasts, to keep the towns in awe ; another they dispatched into the mediterranean

^x Diod. Sic. cap. 3. Justin. lib. xxii. ^y Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(F) Diodorus tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had customs far different from those of the Greeks ; as also, that the apes were very familiar with them, had admission into their houses, and received divine honours, in the same manner as dogs did from the Egyptians. He adds, that when these creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, butchers, &c. without any diffi-

bance ; that parents named their children after them, as the Greeks did after the gods ; and whosoever killed one of them, was sure to suffer death, as a notorious atheist. Hence it came to pass, that when any person behaved himself amongst them with unusual haughtiness and insolence, it was a proverbial expression, “ Thou hast drunk the blood of an ape (1).”

parts, to preserve the inhabitants in their allegiance ; and the last body they detached to the Upper Africa, to support their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewise for this conduct. By sending such a number of men out of the city, they supposed they should, in some measure, restore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of provisions. The city was so strongly fortified, and lay so near the sea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force ; and therefore all superfluous hands were an incumbrance. By sending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they should not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewise encourage the neutral princes to declare in their favour. And lastly, they had reason to imagine, that by such a diversion, they should draw the enemy's forces at a greater distance from the city, and consequently obtain for themselves a little time to breathe. They were not deceived in their views ; for upon the departure of thirty thousand soldiers from the city, provisions returned to their former price ; their confederates abandoned the side which, through compulsion, they had been obliged to take ; and the enemy were forced to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of Carthage. Archagathus, being apprised of the motions of the Carthaginians, divided his forces likewise into three bodies. One of these he sent to observe the Carthaginian troops on the sea-coast, with orders afterwards to advance into the Upper Africa ; another, under the command of Æschrión, one of his generals, he posted at a proper distance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the enemy, and the barbarous nations ; and with the last, which he led in person, he kept close to Carthage, preserving a communication with the other two, in order to succour or recall them, as the exigency of affairs should require. Things being in this situation, Archagathus remained quiet in his camp, pleased with the dispositions he had made, and patiently waiting the consequences of the steps he had taken².

The Carthaginian troops detached into the heart of the country were commanded by Hannó, a general of great experience, who, being informed of Æschrión's approach, laid an ambuscade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off himself, with four thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The rest were either taken prisoners, or fled to Archagathus, who lay encamped about five hundred stadia from the place where this action happened. Himslo, who command-

The Syracusans defeated by the Carthaginians.

ed the Carthaginian forces in the Upper Africa, having advice of Eumachus's march, immediately put himself in motion, and at last took post in a town near that general's camp, with a resolution to engage him. The Greeks, though much incommoded by the spoils which they carried with them, drew up their army in order of battle, and prepared to attack the enemy. Himilco left part of his army in the town, with orders to sally out upon the Greeks as soon as they should see them eager and disordered in the pursuit. Then advancing at the head of his other forces, he attacked them with great fury ; but soon after his men being seized with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Eumachus, elated with this supposed advantage, pursued them with such eagerness, that his troops fell into disorder ; which being observed by the forces in the place, they rushed out upon them, and at the same time the other body facing about, the Greeks were so intimidated, that they endeavoured to retire to their camp : but finding their retreat cut off by the body that sallied from the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. There being surrounded by the Carthaginians, and in great want of water, they were almost totally destroyed : for of eight thousand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horse only forty, had the good fortune to escape, the rest either perishing of thirst, or being put to the sword *.

*Agathocles,
upon re-
ceiving this
bad news,
leaves Si-
cily;*

Archagathus, receiving the melancholy advice of these two defeats, and being rejoined by the remains of Æschrión's army, ordered his detachments to return with all speed to the camp. This was a very necessary precaution ; for, after the defeat of Eumachus, Himilco advanced with great expedition towards Archagathus, blocking up the passes, and securing the country, as he advanced, from the enemy's incursions ; so that, had not the detachments retired in time, pursuant to the order received, they must undoubtedly have been cut to pieces. Himilco, therefore, preventing all communication betwixt the Syracusan army and the fruitful country of Africa, on one side ; and Atarbas, another Carthaginian commander, who lay encamped within forty stadia of Tunes, depriving them of supplies by sea, on the other ; the Greeks in a short time were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. Many of their confederates, struck with terror at so dismal a prospect, deserted them, and joined the enemy, who now enclosed them, on all sides, and seemed ready to swallow them up every moment. Whilst things remained in this melancholy situation, Agathocles received an express from Archagathus,

acquainting him with the great losses he had sustained, and the extreme scarcity of provisions the troops laboured under. Upon which intelligence Agathocles, leaving the management of the war in Sicily to Leptines, by a stratagem got eighteen sail of Etruscan ships, that came to his assistance, out of the harbour of Syracuse; and then engaging the Carthaginian squadron lying off that harbour, took five of their ships, and made all the men in them prisoners. By this action he became master of the port, and secured the passage into it for the merchants of all nations; a circumstance which soon produced plenty of all things in Syracuse, where famine before began to make great havock. Supplying himself therefore with a sufficient quantity of necessaries for the voyage he was going to undertake, he immediately took his departure from Syracuse, and sailed for Africa^b.

Upon his arrival in that continent, he renewed his forces, and found them to consist of six thousand Greeks, as many Celtes, Samnites, and Etruscans, besides ten thousand Africans, who had persevered in their fidelity to him, and fifteen hundred horse: As he found his troops reduced almost to a state of despair, and consequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle. The Carthaginians, though they had the advantage of numbers, and were encamped upon an eminence that was almost inaccessible, declined the challenge, not being willing to risk the fate of a battle with men who were grown desperate. However, they believed, that by remaining in their camp, where they had plenty of provisions, and protracting the time, they could starve the enemy to a surrender^c.

and, upon
his arrival
in Africa,
offers the
enemy
battle.

Agathocles, perceiving the enemy's design, and finding he could not long continue in that camp, resolved at all events to force them to a battle. Advancing therefore at the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with such impetuosity, that he made a considerable impression upon it, and might possibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries basely deserted him upon the first onset. The Carthaginians, as much animated by this cowardice as the Greeks were dismayed, redoubling their efforts, soon forced the tyrant to retreat with precipitation to his camp, whither they pursued him, doing great execution in the pursuit. The Carthaginians spared the Africans in this action, in order to win the affections of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the Greeks, besides the prisoners they took, they put above three thousand to the sword.

*He attacks
the Cartha-
ginian
camp; but
is entirely
defeated.*

^b Diod. Sic. ubi supra. ^c Justin. lib. xxii. cap. 8. ^d Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

*A disaster happens in
the Carthaginian camp;*

Next night the Carthaginians sacrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a grateful acknowledgement to the gods for the victory they had obtained. Whilst they were in the midst of this solemnity, the wind, suddenly rising, carried the flames to the sacred tabernacle, near the altar, which they entirely consumed, as well as the general's tent, and those of the principal officers. This accident occasioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was increased by the great progress the fire made: for the tents consisting of combustible materials, and the wind blowing in a most violent manner, the whole camp was almost entirely laid in ashes; and many of the soldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms, and the baggage of their officers, perished in the flames. Many of those who escaped met with as unhappy a fate: for after Agathocles had received the last shock, the Africans deserted him, and were at that very instant coming over in a body to the Carthaginians, who took them to be the whole Syracusan army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being soon rumoured throughout the Carthaginian army, a dreadful confusion ensued. Some betook themselves to flight; others fell down in heaps one upon another, imagining the enemy was at that instant approaching; and lastly, others engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. Five thousand men lost their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the rest took shelter within the walls of Carthage. Nor could the appearance of the day itself, for some time, dissipate their apprehensions.

*and another in
that of
Agathocles;*

At the same time a similar accident happened in the Greek camp. The African deserters, observing the great confusion of the Carthaginians, and not understanding the meaning of it, were so terrified, that they returned to their camp. The Syracusans, seeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an instant cried out, "To arms!" The flames ascending out of the Carthaginian camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confusion. The consequence of this panic was much the same with that already described; for engaging each other, instead of the enemy, they scarce recovered their senses upon the return of the light. This intestine fray was so bloody, that it cost Agathocles four thousand men.

*who soon
after aban-
doned Afri-
ca.*

The last disaster, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themselves suffered more than the Syracusans on the like occasion, entirely dispirited Agathocles. His mind being

being filled with melancholy reflections, he considered himself as deserted by the Africans; as not having a sufficient number of troops to contend with the Carthaginians; and, lastly, in danger of being assassinated by his own son, and therefore resolved to quit Africa. As he knew the Carthaginians were masters at sea, and was persuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms consistent with his safety, he concluded, it would be impossible for him to retreat in the face of the enemy, and therefore employed all his invention to find out some method of stealing away privately; a retreat which he accordingly effected, as we have related in the history of Syracuse.

After the departure of Agathocles, his two sons fell a sacrifice to the wild fury of the soldiers, who immediately assassinated them; and choosing leaders from amongst themselves, concluded a peace with the Carthaginians upon the following terms: first, that the Greeks should surrender the places they held in Africa, on receiving three hundred talents; secondly, that those who were willing to serve under the Carthaginians, should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay; and, thirdly, that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed, by the Carthaginians; in consequence of which, all the troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded, met with a kind reception; but the cities which, in hopes of relief from Agathocles, refused to submit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garrisons obliged to cultivate those parts of the country they had before ravaged and destroyed. Thus this war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the Carthaginians; who, by the last treaty, settled their affairs upon the ancient footing, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, and notwithstanding the Syracusan army had brought them to the very brink of destruction.

Notwithstanding the peace concluded betwixt the Syracusan troops in Africa and the Carthaginians, the treaty was not ratified by Agathocles till the following year: that prince, being reduced to great distress by Dinocrates, who aspired at the sovereignty of Syracuse, found it necessary to court the friendship of the Carthaginians. The emergency of his affairs obliged him to purchase a peace at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but consented to have an additional article inserted in it much to the advantage of the Carthaginians, importing, that all the

*Agathocles's troops
cut off his
two sons,
and con-
clude a
peace with
the Car-
thaginians.*

cities they formerly possessed in Sicily should be restored to them. Which being immediately executed, the Carthaginians left him at liberty to pursue his designs in Sicily. And to facilitate their accomplishment, they sent him three hundred, or, as Timæus Siculus maintains, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, besides two hundred thousand medimni, or five hundred thousand bushels, of wheat ^f.

*Agathocles
meditates
another
war with
Carthage;*

and dies.

*Yr. of Fl.
2059.
Ante Chr.
289.*

*The Syra-
cusan call
Pyrrhus
king of Epi-
rus to their
assistance.*

After this pacification, Sicily, according to Diodorus, for a considerable time, enjoyed the sweets of peace: but at last the implacable hatred Agathocles bore the Carthaginians induced him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of the sea, they were abundantly supplied with all the necessaries and elegancies of life, and easily secured their country from foreign invasion. Agathocles therefore fitted out a squadron of two hundred gallics, in order to prevent the exportation of corn and other provisions from Sicily and Sardinia to Africa, and afterwards to transport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt the conquest of it a second time. But this, as well as the other projects he had formed, were frustrated by his death, an account of which we have already given in the history of Syracuse ^g.

After the death of Agathocles, Mænon, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority at Syracuse, by gaining over the army to his interest. The Syracusans, however, resolved to struggle for their liberty, and therefore raised another army, giving the command of it to Icetas, with orders to attack Mænon. In the mean time Mænon, finding himself not strong enough to engage Icetas, industriously avoided fighting, and applied to the Carthaginians for assistance. That people, always intent upon fomenting divisions in Sicily, in order to enlarge their own acquisitions, readily granted his request. Soon after, Icetas seized upon the government at Syracuse, and ruled with an absolute authority, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the mean time the rebels and Syracusan exiles, in conjunction with the Agrigentines, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted, advanced, under the conduct of Phintias, to Hybla, where they were attacked and defeated by Icetas. That general, elated by this victory, engaged the Carthaginian army upon the banks of the river Teria; but was overthrown with prodigious slaughter, and forced to fly to Syracuse. In Icetas's absence, Thynion had possessed himself

^f Diod. Sic. ubi sup. cap. 4. ^g Idem. lib. xxi. in Excerptis Rhodoman. Aelian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 6.

of the sovereign power; but being opposed by Sostratus, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the walls of the city. Thynion maintained himself in the island with a body of ten thousand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; so that for some time Syracuse was nothing else but a scene of blood and slaughter. The Carthaginians, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracuse, and invested the capital itself with a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of fifty thousand men. Thynion and Sostratus, finding the Carthaginians pushing on the siege with such vigour, that, in all probability, they would soon become masters of the city, unless speedily relieved, united their forces against the common enemy. They also dispatched messengers to Pyrrhus, then at Tarentum, entreating him to come over to Sicily, and deliver the Greeks in that island from the Barbarians, who threatened them with utter destruction. That prince received the envoys very favourably, and, sending Cyneas (G) to conclude a treaty with Thynion and Sostratus, after having left a strong garrison in Tarentum, under the conduct of Milo, embarked with his army for Sicily. He took with him a considerable number of elephants, and a vast quantity of provisions; and, the tenth day after he had departed from Tarentum, arrived at Locri. From hence steering his course for Italy, he in a few days landed at Taurominium, and, upon his arrival, was joined by Tyndarion, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to Catana, and from thence marched to Syracuse, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, besides the Sicilian auxiliaries, attended by a fleet of two hundred sail. The Carthaginians, then carrying on the siege of Syracuse, having detached thirty of their best vessels for a fresh supply of provisions, did not think themselves strong enough to venture an engagement with Pyrrhus's fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; so that he entered Syracuse without opposition. Soon after he had possessed himself of that important place, ambassadors arrived from the Leontines, who had joined with Thynion and Sostratus in pressing the king of Epirus to take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to surrender their city into his hands, and to join his forces with a body of

(G) Cyneas was a famous himself as more obliged to Cy- orator, and a hearer of De- neas's eloquence for many of mosthenes. According to Plu- his conquests, than to the force tarch, Pyrrhus looked upon of his arms.

four thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Many other cities followed the example of Syracuse and Leontini. In short, Pyrrhus, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his insinuating and affable behaviour, made such an impression upon the minds of the Sicilians in general, that he doubted not of soon having them all entirely at his devotion, and consequently flattered himself with the hopes of speedily depriving the Carthaginians of all their acquisitions in Sicily.¹

The Carthaginians offer the Romans assistance,

which the Romans decline accepting of.

They afterwards offer their mediation to Pyrrhus.

We must not omit observing, that before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, the Romans were not unacquainted with the designs of that ambitious prince. In order therefore to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make, they renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, likewise were under some apprehensions of his invading Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus. As it was prudently specified, that the Carthaginians should send a sufficient naval force to the relief of the Romans, upon the first notice of a rupture with the king of Epirus, as soon as they heard he had made a descent in Italy, they ordered a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, to be equipped for that purpose, under the command of Mago. That officer, in an audience he had of the senate, upon his arrival at Rome, told the conscript fathers, that his principals had heard with great concern of the hostilities Pyrrhus committed in Italy. He likewise offered, in the name of his republic, a body of auxiliary troops, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The senate returned thanks for this obliging offer of the Carthaginians; but at the same time declined accepting it. Diodorus relates, that, nevertheless, the Carthaginian fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, sailed to Rhegium; which place they battered for some time with incredible fury, but were at last obliged to raise the siege. They destroyed, according to this author, a vast quantity of timber, and other materials for shipping, in that port, and then put to sea with their squadron, to observe the motions of Pyrrhus. Mago, some days after his departure from Rome, repaired to Pyrrhus's camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for accommodating all differences between him and the Romans, but in reality to found him, and discover, if possible, his designs

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. xix. & lib. xxii. apud Laur. Rhodomon. Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. lib. 2. Justin. lib. xviii. Dionys. Halicar. Ant. Rom. lib. xii. in Excerpta Valerii.

with regard to Sicily. The Carthaginians at that time were afraid, lest either Pyrrhus, or the Romans, should concern themselves with the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. Indeed this seems to have been the real motive for sending a fleet to assist the Romans, rather than a desire to be punctual in the observance of their engagements¹.

As soon as Pyrrhus had settled his affairs in Syracuse, Leontini, and the other places that submitted, he began to march with his army towards Agrigentum; which was then possessed by a Carthaginian garrison, under the command of Phintias. On his route he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the Carthaginians, and were resolved to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on their frontiers, he was met by Sostratus, at the head of eight thousand Agrigentine foot, and eight hundred horse, nothing at all inferior in military skill and bravery to the Epirots themselves. Sostratus likewise prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly supplied with darts, arrows, all other kind of arms, and battering engines, from Syracuse, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, and reduced Heraclea, which was for some time defended by a party of Carthaginians. After this exploit, he received the submission of the Azones, Selinuntines, Halicyaeans, Egestines, and others. In short, the Carthaginians found, that this conqueror soon deprived them of all their allies, made himself master of many of their towns without the least opposition, and was determined to make the Libyan sea, on the side of Greece, the boundary of their dominions.

Pyrrhus, in conformity to the plan he had projected, advanced to Eryx, a fortress defended by a numerous Carthaginian garrison, and of such natural strength, that it was almost inaccessible. This place, with some difficulty, he invested, and began to batter. The garrison for some time made a vigorous defence; but at last Pyrrhus entered the breach his rams had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all posterity, after the example of Hercules, he was the first who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the Africans with his own hand. However, he met with such resistance, that his success was dubious, till a fresh reinforcement of his troops supported him in the attack; and then he easily carried the

*Pyrrhus's
great pro-
gress in
Sicily.*

*Takes Eryx
by storm,
and lays
siege to Libyaeum.*

¹ Justin. ubi sup. cap. s. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 23. Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. in Excerpt. Rhodoman. & Heschenii. Val. Max. lib. ii. vii.

town. Panormus, Ercta, and most other places of consequence, were either taken by storm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the first summons; so that now the Carthaginians had no town left in Sicily but Lilybæum, which Pyrrhus besieged with all his forces ^k.

But is obliged to raise it.

Lilybæum was a maritime city of great strength, esteemed by the Carthaginians as one of the keys of Sicily. They had therefore raised many outworks for its defence, drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-side, and fortified it in the strongest manner possible. Being masters of the sea, they landed a strong body of troops, just as Pyrrhus was going to form the siege of the place. But the rapidity of his conquests so terrified them, that they sent ambassadors to treat of a peace upon very advantageous terms, offering him either a large sum of money, or to abandon all their conquests in Sicily, except Lilybæum. Pyrrhus, elated with the success that attended his arms, refused to terminate the war upon any other condition than an absolute evacuation of Sicily. The Carthaginians therefore broke off the negotiation, and Pyrrhus repeated his assaults with the utmost fury. But the town being well furnished with all sorts of provisions and military stores, situated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous garrison, the Carthaginians repulsed him in every attack, and at the end of two months, obliged him shamefully to raise the siege ^l.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Pyrrhus began to entertain thoughts of attacking the Carthaginians in the very heart of their dominions; and therefore made all the necessary preparations to transfer the war into Africa. But having disgusted the Sicilian troops in his service, most of them deserted to the Carthaginians; a defection which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of that expedition. The Carthaginians, informed of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to their army in Sicily, in order to recover their ancient conquests; whilst a powerful fleet cruised round the island, to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape ^m.

*Yr. of Fl.
3073.
Ante Chr.
275.
He returns
to Italy.*

That prince, therefore, meditating a return to Italy, embarked with the remains of his troops in the vessels he brought to Sicily, being attended by an additional number of Sicilian transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to Appian. With this fleet he sailed for Rhegium; but was intercepted at sea by the Carthaginian squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being de-

^k Diod. Sic. lib. supra.
^l Hal. aud. Varr.

^l Plut. in Pyrrh.

^m Dion.

feated, he lost seventy ships, and most of the rest were rendered unfit for service. So that he arrived at Locri with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to Tarentum. The Carthaginians, after this victory, reduced the Sicilian towns before in their possession with as much celerity as Pyrrhus had conquered them, and settled their affairs in Sicily upon a firmer footing than ever^a.

Although the Carthaginians so easily dislodged the Eparchs from Sicily, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the Syracusans and the Mamertines. After Pyrrhus's departure, the former, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near Mergana, a quarrel arose betwixt the soldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this the soldiers elected Artemidorus and Hiero for their leaders, and vested them with almost absolute authority. Hiero, though then very young, had all the good qualities to be wished for in any prince. By the address and management of his friends, he got possession of the city, and soon after suppressed the contrary faction. He is represented by the ancient historians as a consummate hero, and most amiable prince. The Syracusan forces under his command, destined to act against the Carthaginians, after the departure of Pyrrhus, being most excellently disciplined, obtained several considerable advantages over them, and even in a short time grew formidable to that republic^b.

The Mamertines, the other enemy the Carthaginians had to encounter in Sicily, were originally a body of Campanian mercenaries, which Agathocles took into his service. These troops, being denied by the Syracusans the right of giving their votes at the election of magistrates, immediately had recourse to arms; an insurrection which threw the city into great confusion: but some persons of distinction interposing, it was at last agreed, that the Campanians should evacuate Sicily within a limited time, and carry off with them all their effects. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to Messana, in order to embark for their native country. Here they met with a kind reception from the citizens; in return for which they perfidiously, in the night, either expelled or assassinated all the men, seized the women, and pillaged the city. After they had divided the lands and riches of the unhappy Messanians amongst them-

Hiero de-
clared ge-
neral of the
Syracusan
army, and
praetor of
Syracuse.

A brief ac-
count of the
Mamer-
tines.

^a Appian. Samnit. in Excerptis Valesii. Plut. in Pyrrh. Justin. lib. xxii. cap. 3. ^b Polyb. lib. i. Justin. ubi sup. cap. 4.

felves, they called the city Mamertina, and assumed the name of Mamertini; that is, martial or warlike people, from *Mamers*, a word which in their language, being a dialect of the Oscan, signified *Mars*, the god of war. By the assistance of the Roman garrison at Rhegium, which, under the command of Decius, a Campanian, had seized upon that city in the same infamous manner by which the Mamertines had possessed themselves of Messana, they soon became very powerful, and made frequent incursions both into the Syracusan and Carthaginian territories. The Romans, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of Decius, and his accomplices, for their flagrant violation of public faith, attacked the city of Rhegium, and took it by storm, as has been related in a former part of this work. The Mamertines, being thus deprived of their chief support, could not long defend themselves against the attacks of Hiero, who, on account of their repeated depredations, declared war against them. As that prince's troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cut off all communication betwixt the Mamertines and the neighbouring states. Then he encamped upon the river Longanus, where he put himself in a posture to receive the enemy, in case they should venture an engagement.¹

*They are
attacked
and defeated
by Hiero.*

The Mamertines, finding all the avenues leading to their capital secured by the enemy's detachments, and themselves reduced to great distress by Hiero's possessing himself of so commodious a camp, were obliged to run the risk of a battle. Drawing, therefore, their forces, which consisted of eight thousand foot, and some horsemen of Messana, under the command of Cios, they encamped on the opposite bank, and made the necessary dispositions for passing the river. In the mean time Hiero sent a detachment, consisting of two hundred chosen Messanians, and four hundred of his own men, with orders to occupy the hill Thorax, and then wheeling about, attack the enemy in the rear, whilst he himself, with the main body of his army, charged them in front. The action for some time was sharp and bloody, both sides behaving with undaunted resolution: but at last Hiero having gained an eminence near the river, which enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, and the detachment posted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, the Mamertines immediately gave ground, and soon after fled with precipitation. The Syracusans pursued

¹ Polyb. lib. 6. Appian. Samnit. & Diod. Sicul. lib. xxii. in Ex. corporis Valerii.

them

them so closely, that they put every man of them to the sword, except Cios, who, having received many wounds in the engagement, fainted through loss of blood, and being taken prisoner, was brought into Hiero's camp. Hiero, being a prince of singular humanity, ordered all possible care to be taken of that general; but Cios, soon after seeing his son's horse brought into the camp by a party of Syracusans, immediately concluded he was killed; an apprehension which threw him into such despair, that he refused all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and chose rather to fall by his own hand, than survive a person so dear to his affection. This defeat, which Hiero gave the Mamertines in the plains of Mylæ, was the greatest stroke that people ever received. Nor did they ever afterwards find it possible to re-establish their shattered affairs. The troops were so pleased with Hiero's conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of Syracuse upon his arrival at that metropolis ^q.

The Carthaginians, apprised of Hiero's success, began to be uneasy at the progress of that prince's arms: but their uneasiness was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the Mamertines had made some overtures for an accommodation, and even offered to put the city of Messana into his hands. The Carthaginians endeavoured to break off this negotiation; but finding themselves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a scheme to keep Messana out of the hands of the Syracusans. This was executed by Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. The artful African met Hiero advancing to take possession of the place: he pretended to congratulate him on his late victory, but in reality his intention was to retard the march of his troops to Messana. In the mean time, by the assistance of an officer sent for that purpose, he prevailed upon the Mamertines to admit a Carthaginian detachment into their metropolis. This measure gave great offence to the Romans, and occasioned the first Punic war, which will be the subject of the following section.

*And is
over-
reached by
the Cartha-
ginians.*

^q Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. in Excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœschel. Polyb. ubi supra.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the Carthaginians, from the first to the second Punic War.

The Carthaginians advance to Tarentum; which gives great umbrage to the Romans.

THOUGH the Carthaginians had entered into an alliance with the Romans a little before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and offered them powerful succours against that prince, yet, even at this time, a mutual jealousy and dissidence reigned between the two states. As their power was very extensive, their political views and interests diametrically opposite, and both seemed actuated by the same spirit of ambition, it was morally impossible but that, sooner or later, a bloody quarrel must commence betwixt them. The Romans proving superior to Pyrrhus, obliged him to abandon his Italian allies, whom, soon after his departure, they easily reduced¹. The Samnites suffered so terrible an overthrow from the consuls L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Corvilius, surnamed Maximus, that from this time they ceased to be a nation². The Brutians and Lucanians were next compelled to submit; so that only Tarentum remained to be chastised for incurring the displeasure of the Romans. As that city had not only embroiled the Romans with their neighbours, but likewise destroyed one of their fleets, insulted their ambassadors, invited Pyrrhus over into Italy, and greatly exerted itself in assisting him to execute the project he had formed against the Roman republic, they were resolved to make it feel the weight of their resentment. The consuls, therefore, immediately after they had conquered the Brutians and Lucanians, ordered that place to be invested³. Milo at this time commanded the Epirot garrison in the citadel, and the Tarentines had possession of the town. These two parties, being at variance, instead of taking proper measures for the defence of the place, seemed to be privately contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power. As the Carthaginians lay at that time with a strong squadron of gallies, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the Epirots as enemies, it was suspected that the Tarentines had solicited their assistance. On the other hand, Milo entered into a negotiation with the Romans, in order to put both the town and citadel into their hands; which at last he effected, and that

¹ Flor. lib. i. cap. 18. Polyb. lib. i. lib. xiii. cap. 6. p. 377, 378, 379. &c.

² Zonar. in Annal.

³ Liv. Epit. lib. xii. xiv.

even

even by the consent of the Tarentines⁴. The Carthaginians, having missed their aim, retired to their own coasts; but the Romans were greatly chagrined at this step, since they thereby discovered not only that the Carthaginians intended to deprive their republic of a city which, by right of conquest, belonged to it, but likewise that they meditated the conquest even of Italy itself. Besides, could the design have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two states. This circumstance, therefore, convinced the Romans, that the Carthaginians paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and consequently that they could not be too much upon their guard against the attempts of so perfidious as well as enterprising a nation. That the Romans drew such a conclusion from the conduct of the Carthaginians at this juncture, seems not only probable from the nature of the transaction itself, but likewise from an observation of Cato⁵ and Gellius. We may therefore consider that step as a remote or pretended cause, at least, of the first Punic war. Indeed this is allowed by Zonaras, as well as Lucius Ampelius, one of their own later historians⁶.

The Romans, soon after the reduction of Tarentum, subdued all the countries in Italy, from the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian Sea, and from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic. This rapid progress of their arms gave a fresh alarm to the Carthaginians, who now perceived, that the Romans had a very short passage over to Sicily, and that the continent of Italy could not limit their ambition. They therefore beheld all their possessions in that island as very precarious, unless they could speedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a consideration must undoubtedly have increased the jealousy, and heightened the disgust, already conceived in the breasts of the Carthaginians, and had most certainly great influence in pushing them on to a rupture with the Romans.

The inhabitants of Rhegium, being exposed to the attempts of Pyrrhus, as well as the insults of the Carthaginians, who, soon after the arrival of that prince in Italy, infested all the Ionian Sea, applied to the Romans for a garrison to defend them from invasion. In compliance with their request, a legion of Campanians was raised (the Romans at that time not being able to spare any of their own troops, as they were at war with Pyrrhus), and sent under the command of Decius Jubellius, a native of Campania, to

*The Car-
thaginians
jealous of
the grow-
ing power
of the Ro-
mans.*

*Decius
Jubellius,
with a le-
gion of
Campani-
ans, seizes
on Rho-
gium.*

⁴ Zonar. Annal. lib. viii. cap. 6, p. 379. ⁵ Cat. in Orig. Quart. apud Aul. Gell. in Noct. Attic. lib. x. cap. 1. ⁶ Lucius Ampel. in Lib. Memorial. cap. 46.

garrison that city. These troops, for some time, did their duty perfectly well; but at last, in imitation of the Mamertines, who had possessed themselves of Messana in a most perfidious manner, and, being of the same nation, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themselves independent at Rhegium. To this attempt they were strongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place. As the Romans at that time were fully employed in the war with Pyrrhus, they thought this a favourable juncture⁷ to bring their project to bear, since nothing but the opposition which might be apprehended from that quarter could possibly obstruct the execution of their design. Decius, therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the Rhegians had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the place to Pyrrhus, and betray the garrison into his hands. In order to prevent this misfortune, he suggested that there was a necessity of taking possession of the town, and making an example of the conspirators. To support what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the particulars of the conspiracy were related at large. This contrivance, together with a concerted speech on the occasion, made such an impression upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an instant to execute their general's orders. In the mean time a person, privy to the design, appearing, pretended to have certain intelligence, that Pyrrhus had already made a descent on the territories of Rhegium, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conspiracy. This report serving as a signal to the Campanians, the train being already laid, they immediately took possession of the city, divided all the plunder amongst themselves, and put most of the men to the sword⁸.

The Romans re-take Rhegium, and put to death all the Campanians.

Not long after the perpetration of this horrid deed, Decius was expelled by the soldiery, and obliged to fly to Messana. There being seized by a violent pain in his eyes, he applied to a Rhegian physician for relief; who, resenting the injuries offered his country, prescribed him a plaster of cantharides, which totally deprived him of sight, and then made his escape. As soon as the Roman republic was in a condition to take vengeance of the perfidious legion he commanded, she sent L. Genucius Clepsina to besiege Rhegium with a powerful army. The Campanians, being reinforced by a body of Mamertines, made a vigorous defence; but

⁷ Polyb. & Val. Max. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. apud Vales. Lit. Epit. lib. iii.

the consul, redoubling his efforts, at last possessed himself of the place. Appian relates, that Decius, being detained in close custody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himself; but whether this happened at Rome or Rhegium, he does not relate. In the mean time the Mamertines, having sustained a prodigious loss, not only by the slaughter of their troops sent to the assistance of the Campanians, but likewise by the death of Decius their faithful ally, and being likewise defeated by Hiero, found themselves almost reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Syracusans. Some of the principal citizens, in this emergency, applied to the Romans for succours, who not being disposed to support them at that conjuncture, the Carthaginian faction in Messana admitted a Carthaginian detachment into the town, which immediately took possession of the citadel. The Roman party, incensed at this incident, resolved to send a second time to their friends for speedy relief. This step of the Carthaginians, therefore, must be allowed to have been the immediate cause of the first Punic war².

As for the motives which prompted the Carthaginians to this war, we have just thrown out a hint. A desire of securing and enlarging their acquisitions in Sicily; the necessity of humbling a proud rival, whose interests in every respect clashed with theirs; a resolution to preserve the dominion of the sea, and that extensive trade they then enjoyed; these, we say, were undoubtedly the principal motives which prevailed upon them to engage in this dangerous quarrel. The Romans likewise, in all probability, were influenced by reasons of the same kind. A thirst after empire, an abhorrence of the Carthaginian genius; a fear that so false a friend would get footing in Italy; in short, a notion that their political views were entirely repugnant to those of the Carthaginians, disposed them to a rupture with that people.

The Roman faction in Messana, upon the admission of a Carthaginian garrison, dispatched fresh deputies to Rome, to solicit assistance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the possession of Messana to the Romans, and, in the most moving terms, implored their protection. The conscript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this request would destroy the uniformity of their conduct, and cause the loss of the high character they had gained by the severe punishment lately

*Some of the
principal
motives for
the first Pu-
nic war.*

² Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. Appian. & Dio Cass. in Excerptis Vales. Polyb. ubi supra, &c. Zonat. ubi supra, p. 38. Oros. lib. ii.

inflicted upon the perfidious Campanian legion, were for some time in suspense what plan to adopt. But afterwards considering what vast territories the Carthaginians possessed in Africa and Spain; that they were masters of a great part of Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands lying on the coast of Italy; that they had a design on Italy itself, which they would be enabled to put in execution by the reduction of Sicily; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehensions for their own safety, and therefore appeared disposed to support the Mamertines. This disposition was soon turned into a resolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoverished by the late wars, and proposing to themselves great advantages from an invasion of Sicily, to which likewise they were strongly excited by those who expected the command of the armies destined for that service, were very eager from the beginning to deliver Messana. The senate, therefore, decreed, that this enterprize should be undertaken; and, in consequence of this decree, which was likewise confirmed by the suffrages of the people, Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, received orders to attempt a passage to Sicily, at the head of a powerful army.

The consul sends C. Claudius, a legionary tribune, to act in his stead. The consul, being obliged to remain some time longer in Rome, where his presence was necessary, on account of some affairs of moment, commanded Caius Claudius, a legionary tribune, and a person of great intrepidity and resolution, to advance with a few vessels to Rhegium. Claudius, upon his arrival, observing the Carthaginian squadron to be greatly superior to his own, and absolute masters of the Streights, thought it would be madness to attempt at that time transporting any forces to Sicily. However, he crossed the Streights himself, and had a conference with the Mamertines; who, though at first awed by a Carthaginian garrison in the citadel, were prevailed upon to accept of the Roman protection. Claudius, having thus happily gained his point, returned to the opposite shore, and made the necessary dispositions for transporting a body of forces to Messana*.

The Romans land in Sicily. The Carthaginians, being informed of the resolution taken at Rome to assist the Mamertines, sent a strong squadron of gallies, under the command of Hanno, to Sicily. That general, receiving intelligence that Claudius had sailed from Rhegium with a small Roman fleet, and was steering towards Messana, in order to throw a body of troops into

* Polyb. lib. i. Aur. Vict. sive Auct. Vit. Vir. Illustr. 37. Liv. Epit. lib. xvi.

that

that place, immediately went in search of him ; and, coming up with him near the coast of Sicily, attacked the Romans with great fury.

During the engagement a violent storm arose, which dashed many of the Roman vessels in pieces against the rocks. Claudius, therefore, finding himself engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. Being worsted in the action, many of his ships were taken, others destroyed, and he himself was obliged to retire with great difficulty to Rhegium. Hanno restored all the vessels he had taken from Claudius ; but ordered the deputies sent with them to expostulate with the Roman general, upon his infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two republics. This expostulation, however just, produced an open rupture ; Claudius, soon after, possessing himself of Messana. Hanno, the Carthaginian commandant in the citadel, was forced to evacuate the place, as has been already related in the history of Syracuse ; for which he was afterwards crucified at Carthage^b.

The Carthaginians, being determined to dislodge the Romans from Messana, raised a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpose, appointing another Hanno, the son of Hannibal, commander in chief of those forces. This general landed his troops at Lilybæum, and then marched to Selinus, near which city he encamped ; from whence, at the head of a considerable detachment, he advanced to Agrigentum, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel. The Agrigentines were easily prevailed upon to declare for the Carthaginians ; and Hanno, upon his return to the camp at Selinus, found ambassadors from Hiero, who had orders to concert with him the proper measures for driving the Romans out of Sicily. Pursuant to the plan of operations Hanno and Hiero had concerted, those two generals marched with their united forces to Messana, and immediately invested the town. Before they besieged the place in form, they summoned the Roman garrison to surrender ; with which they refusing to comply, Hanno put all the Italian soldiers in the Carthaginian service to the sword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the Romans, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The Carthaginians pitched their tents at Senes, a town in the neighbourhood of Messana, and posted their fleet near cape Pelorus, to prevent any supplies arriving by sea ; whilst Hiero encamped on Mount Chalcis, in order to cut off all

^b Polyb. ubi supra. Val Max. lib. ii, cap. 7. Vide & Justin. atque Diodor. pass.

communication betwixt the besieged and the neighbouring country. The Romans, being apprised of these motions, dispatched the consul Appius Claudius, at the head of a powerful army, to Rhegium; who, upon his arrival, conjured Hiero, by the ancient friendship betwixt the Romans and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken, promising at the same time, that not the least damage should be offered to his territories. Hiero answered, that the Mamertines had possessed themselves of Messana in the most villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of Gela and Camarina, and treated the inhabitants with the most horrid cruelty; that therefore such a nest of banditti ought to be entirely extirpated. He added, that the Romans could not, without a manifest deviation from their former equity, take them under their protection; and that if, contrary to expectation, this should happen, the world would naturally conclude, that they were not influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and justice, but swayed by ambition, their aim being, not to succour the distressed, but to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily.

*and are
defeated by
the consul
Appius
Claudius:*

The consul, having received this answer, resolved to invade Sicily with all possible expedition. This he did in the manner already related. The success of the descent animated him to attempt the relief of Messana, which was blocked up by Hiero. That prince was forced to a battle; and at last defeated, though the Roman cavalry were at first put into disorder. The legions fought with so much bravery, that it was not possible to break through them. The consequence of this victory was a free passage for the conquerors into the city they came to relieve. Not satisfied with this, the consul next attempted to force the Carthaginian camp; but he miscarried in the attempt. However, enticing the enemy out of their entrenchments into the plain, he handled them so roughly, that they could make no progress in the siege of Messana, as long as he continued in Sicily. The misfortunes attending Hiero and the Carthaginians at this juncture seem to have been owing to mutual jealousy, which hindered those powers from acting in concert. Be that as it may, this affair gave Hiero a disgust to the Carthaginians, and strongly disposed him to an accommodation with the Romans.

*The Romans de-
tach Hiero
from the
Cartha-
ginian in-
terest.*

After the consul's departure, Hiero and the Carthaginians, collecting a body of regular troops, reduced many

^a Polyb. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hoeschelii. Georg. Syncet. Chronograph. p. 275. edit. Par. 1652. ^b Polyb. & Diodor. ubi supra. Sex. Jul. Frontini Strat. lib. i. cap. 4. ex. 11. Vida etiam Eutrop. lib. ii. towns

towns that had fallen to the enemy; but the succeeding consuls, Manius Octavius Crassus and Manius Valerius Flaccus, transporting to Sicily two consular armies, consisting each of eight thousand legionaries, and six hundred horse, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered most of those places. They first besieged Adranum, and took it by storm. Afterwards they advanced to Centuripe, and encamped before that city. Whilst they were making preparations for an attack, the Alæfinians desired to be taken under the protection of the Romans; and about sixty-seven other towns followed their example. The consuls, animated by such a rapid progress, advanced with all their forces towards Syracuse, the capital of the island, with an intention to form the siege of that city. Their approach diffused terror throughout the island, and so intimidated Hiero, who now plainly discovered the great superiority of the Romans in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts of renewing the negotiation, which Claudio's sudden departure from Sicily had broken off towards the close of the last campaign.

The Syracusan nobility, having now a prospect of nothing but a long train of calamities, entreated their sovereign to make overtures for a peace to the Roman generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a desire concurring with Hiero's natural sentiments, he readily complied with their request; so that, dispatching ambassadors immediately to the Roman camp, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. Many things induced the Romans to facilitate so salutary a work: but it will be sufficient to observe here, that, by the conclusion of this treaty, they obtained, according to Eutropius, two hundred talents of silver, or, as Diodorus asserts, a hundred and forty thousand drachmas, a plentiful supply of provisions through the future course of this war, and found themselves enabled to reduce their army in Sicily to two legions.

The interest both of Hiero and the Romans rendered an accommodation necessary. The Romans could not have carried on the war with any tolerable prospect of success for want of provisions, since the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, would easily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off all supplies from the coasts of Italy. On the other hand Hiero found the Carthaginians not able to protect his dominions, nor himself in a capacity to make head against the

*which the
Carthaginians en-
deavour to
obstruct,
but in vain.*

* Zonar. ubi supra, p. 379, 380. Eutrop. His. Rom. lib. ii. Polyzon. Strat. lib. vi. cap. 16. 23. 4. Liv. Flor. &c. Ding. Sic. ab supra.

consul. The peace concluded at first was not perpetual, but only for a term of fourteen years. The Carthaginians endeavoured by all possible means to obstruct the negotiation, but without effect. With this view Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, advanced to Xiphonia, giving Hiero to understand, that he was in a condition to support him; but hearing that every thing was settled, he thought proper to retire¹.

The Carthaginians, being deserted by their ally, found themselves obliged to bear the whole burden of the war, which yet they believed themselves able to sustain. They were so far from being dispirited on this occasion, that they were resolved to drive the Romans out of Sicily, and even oblige king Hiero to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous garrisons in all their frontiers, completed the works of their fortified towns, and sent officers, with large sums of money, to make levies in Liguria, Gaul, and Iberia. The Romans, in the mean time, marching into the Carthaginian territories, invested Adranon and Macella, which they pressed with great vigour, but were repulsed in all their assaults, and at last forced to abandon the enterprise. However, they met with success at Segesta, which, having been founded by Æneas, or at least one of his Trojan companions, and consequently related to the Romans, opened its gates to the consul, after having massacred the Carthaginian garrison. The people of Alienæ followed their example. Hilara, Tyrita, and Ascela, were carried sword in hand. The Tyndarites proposed submitting upon the first appearance of the Roman army, had they not been prevented by the Carthaginians, who, upon intelligence of their design, carried off the principal citizens as hostages, and conveyed all the provisions and military stores in the place to Lilybæum. After these exploits, the consuls retired to Rhegium, where they took up their winter-quarters².

The Romans reduce several towns in Sicily.

They defeat the Carthaginians, and take Agrigentum.

For the next campaign the Carthaginians appointed Hannibal commander in chief of all their forces, who made Agrigentum a place of arms, and there fixed his principal magazine. The consuls L. Posthumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and, after having blocked it up for some months, besieged it in form. As this siege happened in the middle of harvest, the Carthaginian garrison, observing great numbers of the enemy dispersed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous

¹ Geor. Syncell. in Chronogr. p. 275.
Sicily. Liv. Drol. & Zonin. His. Rom.

Polybi. Diodor.

fally,

sally, cut many to pieces, and had almost forced them out of their trenches; but were at last driven back into the town. In the mean time Hannibal, the son of Gisco, who commanded in the place, finding the siege pushed on with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated expresses to Carthage, with an account of his distress. Hereupon Hanno received orders to attempt raising the siege: for this purpose he first marched to Heraclea, and from thence to Erbeffa, where posting himself, he so straitened the Roman army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions. Though that army at first, according to Diodorus, consisted of a hundred thousand men, most of whom were Sicilians, not a fourth part now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy situation. This induced the consuls to think of attacking Hanno, though they had before declined an engagement. Having at that time plenty of provisions, and being strongly entrenched, they imagined themselves able to starve the garrison to a surrender; but being now reduced to great distress, they challenged the enemy, who on their part did not shew the same disposition to fight. The Romans, however, reaped considerable advantages from this conduct; for Hiero, finding the Carthaginians superior to his new allies, had delayed supporting them in the manner he was bound by the last treaty; whereas at this time, seeing the face of affairs changed, he supplied them in great abundance with all kinds of provisions. Many Sicilian cities likewise, animated by the same event, sent deputations to the Romans, and joined them with a large body of forces. Hanno advanced some time after into a plain near the Roman camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time the Roman generals, by way of precaution, had posted proper detachments to repulse any sally the besieged might make; and, upon Hanno's approach, privately detached another body to attack the Carthaginian rear. As soon as this disposition was made, the Roman army, moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and, towards evening, a bloody engagement ensued: but the Romans behaved with such bravery, that, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, they routed the Carthaginians, putting to the sword great numbers of their troops, and killing some of their elephants. Hannibal, during the engagement, fell out with the best part of the garrison; but was repulsed with considerable loss. Immediately afterwards he abandoned the place to the Romans; and Hanno fled, with the remains of his army, to Heraclea.

les. The siege of Agrigentum continued seven months, the Romans losing thirty thousand foot, and five hundred and forty horses, before the town ^a.

Proceedings of the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily.

The Carthaginians, greatly mortified at the ill success of their arms during this campaign, attributed it, as usual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only fined Hanno an immense sum of money, but likewise deprived him of his commission, appointing Hamilcar to command the forces in Sicily. Hannibal, an officer of great repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from Hamilcar to ravage the coasts of Italy, that by such a diversion, he might enable the land-forces to attack more successfully the Roman conquests in Sicily: but the Romans had taken such care to guard their coasts, by posting detachments in proper places to prevent the enemy from making a descent, that this design was rendered abortive, and the consul C. Duilius landed two legions in Sicily without opposition. Upon his arrival, he advanced to Mytilenae, and besieged that fortress; but, notwithstanding the large train of battering engines he had with him, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with great loss. In the mean time Hamilcar, suspecting a body of Gallic mercenaries in his army of a design to desert to the enemy, because they had lately mutinied for want of pay, commanded them to form a town defended by a Roman garrison, of which, by means of his spies, he gave the Romans private intelligence. The Romans, informed of their approach, laid an ambuscade for the Gauls; into which falling, and not being supported by Hamilcar, they were cut off to a man. The consul, being ignorant of Hamilcar's view, esteemed the action as a signal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated by success, made preparations for a vigorous attack upon the Carthaginian territories; but he was recalled to command the fleet, and consequently, for some time, obliged to suspend the operations by land ^b.

Borders take a Roman squadron of gallies; and the Romans beat Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral.

The Romans, observing that the coasts of Italy lay exposed to the depredations of the Carthaginian fleets, whilst Africa enjoyed all the sweets of peace, were resolved to equip a fleet capable of engaging any the Carthaginians could fit out against them. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, being desirous of destroying the Roman navy in its infancy, found means to decoy Cneius, or, as Polybius calls him, Caius Cornelius Scipio, with seventeen new-built gallies, to the port of Lipara. Upon his arrival the Carthaginians,

^a Diodor. Sicul. & Polyb. ubi supra.
^b Zonaras. lib. viii. cap. 16. lib. ix. cap. 16. lib. x. cap. 14. in Epit. xvii.

who had sent before a squadron into that harbour under the command of Boedes, intreated peace in the most suppliant manner, pretending to submit to whatever conditions the Romans should think fit to prescribe. At the same time they acquainted him, that the Carthaginian admiral was so extremely indisposed, that he could not possibly come on board his galley, or that otherwise he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in person. Wherefore they intreated him to honour Boedes with his company, in order to settle a firm and lasting peace between the two nations. The credulous Roman, listening to this proposal, was detained prisoner by the perfidious Carthaginian, and his whole squadron taken after a faint resistance. Hannibal himself committed great ravages on the coasts of Italy, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty gallies, to reconnoitre the Roman naval forces; but he was afterwards attacked in his turn, lost the best part of his ships, and with great difficulty made his escape. This in some degree raised the drooping spirits of the Romans, who were much dejected at the loss they had before sustained.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Carthaginians entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the Roman fleet, which was but in its infancy. The Romans, on the other hand, dreaded the naval force of the Carthaginians, though they had gained an advantage over Hannibal, especially as they had lost one of their consuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order, therefore, to make head against the enemy upon the watry element, the senate ordered the consul, C. Duilius, immediately to leave Sicily, and assume the command of the squadron then in the straits of Rhegium: after which engaging the Carthaginians, by the help of the machine called corvus, defeated them entirely. As the Roman vessels were much inferior to the Carthaginian in lightness and activity, the corvus was invented to remedy that defect. Hannibal, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his septireme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and escape in a small boat. The rest of the Carthaginian gallies soon after came up with the Romans; but met with the same fate. The loss of the Carthaginians in this double engagement is variously related by the Roman historians; but the most authentic account is contained in the inscription on the Columna Rosaria of Duilius, still extant at Rome. Hannibal, having before fled from Agric-

Duilius the
consul gains
another sig-
nal victory
over him.

A. Diod. Sicul. Lib. Polyb. & Zon. lib. vii. cap. 16. et c. 3.

gentium, would most certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at Carthage, had he not, by an instance of Punic subtlety, avoided the impending danger. However, they removed him from the command of the sea-forces. This we learn from Orosius and Zonaras; but according to Polybius, he was continued in that post, and afterwards crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another defeat from the Romans¹.

*Hamilcar
surprised
the Syra-
cuseans, and
reduced se-
veral
fortress in
Sicily.*

Fortune, however, did not entirely abandon the Carthaginians. Their arms in Sicily were attended with success after the departure of Duilius: for though the Romans, in consequence of their late victory, obliged the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Segesta, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried the town of Macella by assault; yet Hamilcar, whose head-quarters were at Panormus, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time a dispute arose in the Roman camp, between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which increased to such a height, that a separation seemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themselves between Paropus and Therme. A general much less vigilant than Hamilcar would naturally have taken advantage of such a dissension: the Carthaginians, therefore, surprising them before they could entrench themselves, put four thousand, according to Polybius, or, as Diodorus relates, six thousand of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. After this exploit Hamilcar reduced Camarina and Enna, and fortified Drepanum with a wall. Then advancing to Eryx, he almost destroyed that ancient city, leaving only a small part standing to cover the famous temple of Venus Erycina, supposed to have been built by Aeneas; and carried the inhabitants to Drepanum. This step he took to prevent the Romans from taking post in that fortress, in case the citizens should be disposed to invite them thither. In short, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and would have conquered the whole island, had not Florus, the Roman general, after Duilius was gone to Rome, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this success was soon at an end, as we shall see immediately².

*Hannibal
surprised
by the Ra-
mmi, and
reduced by
his own
men.*

Hannibal, according to Polybius, after the defeat off Mylae, returned to Carthage; where being reinforced by a number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to sea again, steering his course for the

¹ See *Zonar. viii. cap. Polib. viii. cap.*

² *Diod.*

coast of Sardinia. He had not been long in one of the harbours in that island, probably Calaris, now Cagliari, when he was surprised by the Romans, who carried off many of his ships, and took great numbers of his men prisoners. This disaster so incensed the rest, that they seized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate successor does not appear. The Romans, however, reaped no other advantage from this action than shewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and in a small degree diminishing the naval power of their rival. Had Hannibal escaped death at this time, it is probable he would have met with it at his return to Carthage; since it was considered there as the highest crime in a general to be unsuccessful. Nothing farther material happened this campaign, or the following, if we give credit to Polybius^a.

The following campaign Hamilcar posted himself at Panormus, and placed proper detachments at the principal avenues to the city, to prevent a surprize. In the mean time C. Aquilius Florus, the Roman general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, and offered the enemy battle; but finding that they would not leave the town, and that he was not strong enough to undertake the siege of the place, he marched with his army to Hippana, and took it by assault. From thence he proceeded to Mytilatum, a fortress which the Romans had twice ineffectually besieged. Florus made his approaches so slowly, either through the bad disposition of the ground, or the bravery of the Carthaginian garrison, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However, early next spring his successor, A. Attilius Colfaginus, or, as Zonaras calls him, A. Attilius Latinus, joising the army before Mytilatum with a strong body of forces, pushed on the siege with such vigour, that the Carthaginian garrison abandoned the town in the night, and the citizens opened their gates to the Romans. The soldiers, enraged at the obstinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the Carthaginians, at first put all the inhabitants without distinction to the sword; but the consul causing proclamation to be made, that every Roman soldier should possess the person and effects of those he took prisoners, the slaughter ceased. However, the city itself was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants sold for slaves. The consul next attacked Camarina, and in his march was near being cut off with his whole army by a stratagem of Hamilcar, as has been already related. This town

*The pro-
gress of the
Romans in
Sicily;*

he found so strong, and defended by so numerous a garrison, that he could not make himself master of it, till he received a large train of battering engines, and other supplies, from king Hiero. After these arrived the Romans soon carried the town, which they razed, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The consul afterwards seized upon Enna by treachery, and massacred the Carthaginian garrison. Sittana he took by storm, and Camicus, a castle belonging to the Agrigentines, was betrayed to his arms. Other places of less importance surrendered of course; so that the Carthaginians began to lose ground considerably, notwithstanding their late successes. The Romans, looking upon Camicus as a post of consequence, left a considerable party of men to defend it; and having possessed themselves of Erbusius, which was deserted by its inhabitants, made preparations to sit down before Lipara with all their forces^o.

*at liberty
in Sardinia
and Cor-
sica.*

In the mean time L. Cornelius Scipio, Florus's colleague, sailed, with the squadron under his command, towards Sardinia and Corsica, two islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, subject to Carthage. The consul first made a descent in Corsica, and took Aleria, or, as Zonaras calls it, Valeria, by storm, upon which the other towns submitted, that being the principal place of the whole island. As the Carthaginians had a strong fleet of gallies on the coast of Sardinia, they were in no great pain for that island. Upon Scipio's moving that way they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired at his approach: but upon his entering the port of Olbia, the appearance of the whole Carthaginian squadron riding at anchor was so terrible, that he sheered off without putting his design in execution. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's strength, he had not taken the necessary measures to render the expedition successful, and therefore found himself obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner. But some authors give us to understand, that soon after, having been furnished with a larger body of land-forces, he returned, and reduced Olbia. Other places of less note, upon the reduction of that town, surrendered; but he could not reduce the whole island. However, according to Eutropius, he carried off a vast number both of the Corsi and Sardi prisoners.

Next year Hamilcar, being informed that the Romans had a design upon Lipara, threw a body of forces into that

^o Polyb. ubi sup. Zanar. lib. viii. cap. 11. p. 181. Dioc. Sic. lib. xviii. in Excerpt. Phodoman. Auct. Vict. See Auct. Vit. Vir. Illyr. in Attal. Gallatin. &c. Lip. Epit. lib. xvii. Eutrop. lib. ii. Oros. lib. ix. cap. 2. Zonar. lib. viii. Supra. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 2. Cnef. lib. iv. cap. 7. Eutrop. lib. vii.

town by night, unknown to the consul. This step was taken so privately and unexpectedly, that the citizens, though strongly inclined to the Romans, found themselves incapable of making any resistance. The consul, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was repulsed by Hamilcar, at the head of the garrison, with great slaughter. At the same time Sulpicius, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered several days upon the coast of Sardinia, made a descent, and completed the reduction of that island. According to Florus, by raising the city of Caralis or Carala, the capital of the island, he so terrified the Sardi, that they submitted. Zonaras informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between Sulpicius and the Carthaginians; but that afterwards Attilius, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of imposing upon the Carthaginian admiral, by means of some deserters, whom he bribed to assure him that the Romans intended to land in Africa. Upon this, according to the same author, the Carthaginian squadrons having been some time before driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of Sardinia, departed immediately, though in the night, and set sail for Africa. They were attacked by Sulpicius, who being apprised of the intelligence they had received, posted himself in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or sunk, by favour of the night, most of their ships. The success of this stratagem encouraged the Romans earnestly to prepare for an expedition to Africa, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate Sicily, and procure peace upon their own terms^a.

The Roman forces in Sicily, under the command of A. Attilius Collatinus or Calatinus, besieged Lipara a second time, though they had been routed by the Carthaginians at the close of the last campaign. C. Attilius Regulus, one of the new consuls, who commanded the fleet, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coasts of Sicily, in the first of which he lost nine gallies, but in the other he defeated the Carthaginian squadron, sinking ten, and taking eight of their vessels. The other consul, about the same time, ravaged the island of Melita. These advantages still farther excited the Romans to attack the African republic in the very heart of its dominions.

As neither of the late actions had been decisive, both parties made such great and expeditious preparations, that the ensuing summer, the ninth year of this war, they had col-

^a Zonar. ubi supra. cap. 15, 13. Polyb. l. v. & Flor. ubi supra.
Diod. Sicul. Orat. ad Iap.

*The Ro-
mans, by a
stratagem,
give the
Carthagi-
nians a
blow in
Sardinia.*

*The Ro-
mans and
Carthagi-
nians meet
with dif-
fairs in
this mari-
time war.*

*They both
prepare for
a decisive
engage-
ment.*

lefted their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of Sicily, as well as the dominion of the sea, and even that of Carthage itself. The consuls, L. Manlius Vulso and C. Attius Regulus, with the Roman fleet under their command, consisting of three hundred and thirty gallies of different sizes, rendezvoused at Messana; from thence, stretching their line along the coast towards cape Pachynum, after having doubled the cape, they sailed directly to Ecnemos, where they embarked their land-forces. About the same time the Carthaginian squadron, composed of three hundred and fifty sail, arrived at Lilybæum, the only place they had left in Sicily except Panormus, and a few towns of less note in that neighbourhood. They did not remain long here, but pursuing their projected course, took up their station at Heraclea Minoa, where they made the necessary dispositions to give the enemy battle ^a.

The disposition of their fleets.

The Romans, in order either to engage the enemy by sea, or make a descent upon their territories in Africa, had taken on board their gallies, the very flower of their land-forces. The grand squadron consisted of four divisions, the first of which was called the first legion, and the first fleet. The second and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth was distinguished by the name of triarians, a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of soldiers, who were always the choicest troops, and formed the corps de reserve amongst the Romans. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and a hundred and twenty soldiers; so that the whole united force amounted to near a hundred and forty thousand men. The first division was stationed on the right, and the second on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in such a manner as to form a triangle, the vertex of which was composed of the two admiral gallies, wherein were the consuls, placed in the front of their respective squadrons. The triarians were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion, the base of the aforesaid triangle, but extending beyond the two angles. The transports, with the horse and baggage on-board, lay between the third division and the triarians, this being judged the best situation for them to be covered from any attacks of the enemy. The combined naval and land-forces of the Carthaginians must, according to Polybius, have exceeded that of the Romans; since he insinuates, that their troops, including the seamen, amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand men. When the Carthaginians had observed the disposition of the Roman

^a Polyb. & Balbus. Hist. Carthagin. Vol. II. p. 102.

squadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four smaller squadrons, which they drew up in one line. The three first divisions, posted to the right, stretched far into the sea, as though they had an intention to surround the Romans, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept close under shore, being disposed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. Hanno, who had met with such ill success at Agrigentum, commanded on the right, with the light vessels, that could attack and retreat with great agility, and row nimbly round the gallies of the Romans. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral in the late action off Tyndaris, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave sufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement¹.

The consuls, observing the Carthaginian line to be very weak in the centre, vigorously attacked it in that part with their first and second divisions. The Carthaginians, pursuant to the orders received from Hamilcar, retired with precipitation. By this feint they proposed to separate that part of the Roman fleet, with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the Romans would pursue them with great ardour, and thereby give their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining Roman divisions with great advantage. Accordingly the Romans, by their eagerness in the pursuit, left their consorts exposed to the efforts of the enemy. The Carthaginians that fled, immediately, upon a signal given from Hamilcar's galley, tacked, and, with great bravery, made head against their pursuers: but, after a warm dispute, the Romans, notwithstanding the lightness and activity of the Carthaginian vessels, by the assistance of their corvi, and other grappling instruments, coming to a close engagement, and being animated by the example of their officers, who exposed themselves as much as the meanest soldiers, worsted the enemy, obliging them to sheer off. In the mean time Hanno fell with great fury upon the triarians, whilst that part of the Carthaginian squadron, posted on the left, attacked the transports, and the third legion. Here were three sea-fights at once, which continued for some hours with a prodigious effusion of blood. Fine, Hanno on one side, and the fourth Carthaginian division on the other, reduced the triarians, transports, and third legion, to the last extremity, forced many of them on shore, and would have totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the corvi. At last, Manlius returning

Yr. of Fl.
2103.
Ante Chr.
245.

The Carthaginians entirely defeated.

from the chase of the Carthaginian squadron already coasted, and Regulus, with the second legion, advancing to the relief of the triarians, the enemy were entirely defeated. The Romans lost only twenty-four gallies in this action; but the Carthaginians had thirty sunk, and sixty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened near Heraclea Minoa, Hamilcar made proposals of peace to the Romans, chiefly with a design to amuse the consuls, and divert them from the African expedition: but the Romans rejecting the terms, the war continued with as much fierceness as ever; and the consuls soon after sailing for Africa with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at Clypea without opposition ^a.

The Romans commit great ravages in Africa.

No words can express the consternation the Carthaginians were in, upon advice of the Roman army's landing in Africa. They knew that the consuls might march to Carthage without opposition, and lay waste all the fertile country as they advanced; a circumstance which would reduce them to the greatest distress. Zonaras relates, that the inhabitants of Clypea, or Clupea, were seized with such impressions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the Romans; but, according to Polybius, that town sustained a siege, though the Carthaginians not being in a condition to relieve it, the consuls, without any great effusion of blood, made themselves masters of the place. The Romans, having left a strong garrison in Clupea to secure their shipping, moved with the rest of their army nearer Carthage, and reduced a great number of towns. They likewise plundered an infinity of villages, laid vast numbers of villas in ashes, took above twenty thousand prisoners, amongst whom were many Romans, that had fallen into the enemy's hands. In short, having scoured all the country almost to the gates of Carthage, they returned to Clypea, loaden with an immense booty acquired in this expedition.

*Regulus
advances
towards
Carthage.*

The Carthaginians soon after received intelligence, that Manlius was sent out for Rome with the greater part of the troops, and had left Regulus with only forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to carry on the war in Africa. They now began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by this invasion, and made proper dispositions for their defence. They dispatched an embassy to Hamilcar, then at Heracles, to return with all possible expedition. Hamilcar, in a short time, arrived at Carthage, with a reinforcement of five thousand foot and

five hundred horse, and was joined with Asdrubal and Boc-tar in the command of the army. The first object of their consultations was how to prevent the incursions of the Romans, at least, if not to dislodge them from the province, wherein the capital of Africa was seated. For this purpose, it was found requisite to take the field, and not wait in their cities any longer for the enemy. Regulus, who had taken up his winter-quarters at Clypea, committed great ravages along the sea-coasts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country : but hearing that the Carthaginian army was in motion, he likewise made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the Bragada, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Here with his battering engines he slew a serpent of a prodigious size, which, if Ælius Tubero may be believed, found employment for the whole Roman army. The Roman historians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic description of this monster, and the effects it produced : but considering that Livy^{*}, Valerius Maximus, Ælius Tubero, Pliny, Zonaras, and others, agree in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that the Romans really killed a serpent of an enormous size at the place where they now encamped. Nor will this be deemed improbable, when we consider, that dragons or serpents immensely large were common in Mauritania, Numidia, Libya, and Ethiopia.

Hamilcar and his colleagues, receiving advice of the Roman general's approach, and of his having formed the siege of Adis, or Adda, a fortress of great consequence to Carthage, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Adda, they encamped upon some heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occasioned the defeat of their army ; for, by neglecting the plains, and taking post in rough and impracticable places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, in which their principal strength consisted, incapable of acting. The Romans, taking advantage of this mistake, immediately assaulted them with the utmost fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was so sudden and unexpected, that many of the Carthaginians had their throats cut while they were asleep, and others lost their lives before they could get their arms to defend themselves. However, the Spanish and Gallic mercenaries in the Carthaginian service behaved with great bravery, and not only repulsed the

Yr. of Fl.

2104.

Ante Chr.

244.

And defeats
the Car-
thaginians.

* Liv. Epit. lib. xviii. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 8. Æl. Tuber. apud Aul. Gell. in Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. 3. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 14. Zosm. lib. sup. cap. 13. Sæp. de Clement. lib. i. cap. 33. Flor. lib. sup.

first legion, but drove them to their camp: but Regulus having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel, and attack the enemy's rear, they were thrown into confusion, and at last forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry perished; the Romans very closely pursuing them, having guarded many of the defiles; though most of the elephants and cavalry made their escape. The Carthaginians lost seventeen thousand men in the battle and pursuit. Eighteen elephants were also taken, five thousand men made prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Regulus, after this action, burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors assure us, that he took above two hundred cities. But as this account seems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced since the first descent, we shall follow Eutropius, who relates, that the consul conquered seventy-three towns. Utica, among the rest, was forced to submit, and Tunes, within nine miles of Carthage, soon experienced the same fate. In short, nothing now remained but to besiege Carthage itself.

The Numidians declare a war against the Carthaginians.

To complete the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the Numidians, a sort of Tartars, or at least in their manners and way of life resembling that people, entered the territories of Carthage, where they committed dreadful devastations. These concomitant disasters rendered a famine at Carthage almost inevitable; especially as the produce of the earth had been, in a great measure, destroyed, partly by Regulus, and partly by the Numidians.

Regulus makes proposals for a peace to the Carthaginians.

The African nations likewise more immediately subject to Carthage, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, declared for the Romans, who now carried every thing before them. This success induced Regulus to believe, that the Carthaginians would conclude a peace with him upon any conditions. He therefore, according to Polybius, offered to treat about a peace, being afraid, that his successor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to the present war; though Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginians themselves made the first overtures. Be that as it may, the terms Regulus prescribed were so intolerable, that the Carthaginians resolved to suffer all extremities rather than submit. As Regulus had met with an uninterrupted course of prosperity from the beginning of his consulship, he set no bounds to his arrogance. And the Romans in general being of the same disposition, from the great success that attended their arms, both by sea and land, it is not surprising

Polyb. Appian. Zonar. Eutrop. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Oros. ubi sup.

that

that the Carthaginians were treated in so imperious a manner. Regulus wrote to the senate, that the Carthaginians were upon the brink of ruin, and that he had taken care to "seal up their gates with fear." All hopes therefore of an accommodation vanishing, both sides resolved to refer the decision of the points at present in dispute to the sword. A certain author writes, that the whole number of prisoners taken by the Romans, from their first arrival in Africa to this time, including those who fell into their hands in the late battle, amounted to two hundred thousand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the Carthaginian camp after the last action, Regulus sent on board some transports to Rome; and, having desolated the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the stagnum, or great morass, on which Carthage stood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his proposals, he encamped, resolving to attack the capital of the African republic ².

Whilst matters remained in this situation, a Carthaginian officer, who had been sent to Greece, to levy soldiers, returned with a number of Greek mercenaries. This body was commanded by Xantippus the Lacedæmonian, a person of great bravery and military skill, who had learned the art of war in the school of Sparta, then the most renowned in the world, for the famous generals it produced. As soon as he had informed himself wherein the strength of the Carthaginian forces lay, he immediately attributed the late defeat to the false step taken by their generals, when they chose a spot of ground where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and declared that, by an opposite conduct, they might still retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the Carthaginian senate, people, Hamilcar, and all the other officers, to assume the command of their forces, he taught them to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the Lacedæmonian manner. As nothing inspires soldiers with a greater degree of courage than a persuasion of their general's abilities, the Carthaginian troops, who were before so greatly dispirited, now thought themselves invincible under the conduct of Xantippus, observing how vastly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it improper to permit their ardour to cool, he drew them up in order of battle in a large plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the Ro-

* Appian. Polyb. Oros. Eutrop. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Aur. Vict. Flor. ubi sup.

mans. We have already, in a former part of this work, described the disposition of both armies, and given an account of the principal incidents previous to the engagement. To which we shall beg leave to add here, that Xantippus, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, called a council of war, in order to shew a respect and deference to the Carthaginian commanders; and that these concurring in opinion with the Lacedæmonian, it was resolved to give the enemy battle the day following^a.

*And de-
feats the
Romans.*

The Romans were much surprised at the motions of the Carthaginian army, and the new form of discipline introduced amongst them. However, they affected to treat both them and Xantippus with great contempt. But as the loss of the late battle was justly imputed to a want of military skill in the Carthaginian generals; so the defeat received now by the Romans ought to be ascribed to the bad conduct of Regulus; for this general, elated with his former success, fatigued his men, exposed them to the enemy's parties, posted on eminencies to annoy them with missile weapons in their march; and, finally, passed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat, in case any misfortune should happen. This misconduct of Regulus proved the total ruin of his army; for Xantippus by this motion gained such an advantage over the enemy, that he entirely defeated them, and either put to the sword, or took prisoners, all, except two thousand men, who broke his right wing, and made their escape to Clypea. Of the Carthaginians eight-hundred were slain in this action: but on the Roman side near thirteen thousand must have fallen in the battle and pursuit, if Polybius has given a just account of the forces Manlius, at his departure for Rome, left with Regulus. Xantippus took Regulus himself, and five hundred of his men, prisoners in the pursuit, and immediately carried them to Carthage. According to Eutropius, thirty thousand Romans lost their lives in this battle, and fifteen thousand were deprived of their liberty; but this computation cannot be admitted, except we suppose, that Regulus had either received a strong reinforcement from Rome since the departure of his colleague, or been joined by a large body of Africans in the interval betwixt that event and the battle; neither of which suppositions receives the least countenance from Polybius^b.

*The Car-
thaginians
treat all
the Roman
prisoners
with great
humanity,
except Re-
gulus.*

The Carthaginians treated all the prisoners, except Regulus, with great humanity; hoping by this conduct to en-

^a Appian. in Libyc. sub iust. Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi sup. ^b Vide Aurel. Vict. in At. Reg. 40.

gage the Romans to behave with lenity to the Carthaginian captives in their hands : but Regulus had so insulted them in his prosperity, that they could not forbear shewing him the greatest marks of their resentment on this occasion. According to Zonaras and others, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he had only sustenance allowed barely sufficient to keep him alive : and his cruel masters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge elephant, at the sight of which animal, it seems, he was greatly terrified, to be constantly placed near him ; a companion which prevented him from enjoying any tranquility or repose, and rendered his life a burden. When he prescribed dishonourable terms of peace to the Carthaginians, he pretended, with unparalleled haughtiness, that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour : to which declaration he added this farther insult, "that they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor." No wonder, therefore, that so harsh and contemptuous a treatment should incense a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and implacable, and even force their interest itself to give way to their resentment. Zonaras intimates, that Regulus suffered himself to be surprised by Xantippus, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. However, as the Carthaginian army did not consist of above sixteen thousand men, besides the elephants, this ought to be esteemed a most wonderful victory, especially considering the heroic valour of the Roman legions. It must therefore, as Frontinus rightly observes, be almost entirely attributed to the conduct and bravery of Xantippus.

The Carthaginians remained on the field of battle till they had stripped the slain, and then entered their metropolis, which was almost the only place left them, in triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crowds, to return thanks to the immortal gods for so signal a victory ; and hung up in these temples, as trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted wholly to festivity and rejoicings, a spirit of joy and gladness diffusing itself over the whole city. However, according to some authors, they not only soon forgot the great obligations they were under to Xantippus, but even shewed themselves guilty of shocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who had deliver'd them from certain ruin. If these writers may be credited, they

*Great re-
joicings at
Carthage,
on account
of this
victory.*

^c Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 13. p. 393, 392. S. Jul. Front. Strat. lib. II. cap. 3. ex. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. xxiii. ubi sup. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 1.

either actually destroyed Xantippus, or attempted his destruction ; and not only refused paying the mercenaries their arrears, but ordered the captains of the vessels, who were to carry them home, to leave them exposed on a desolate island. These horrid instances of Carthaginian ingratitude, are attested by some authors ; yet at the same time we think it our duty to observe, that their authority, in the point before us, is not to be entirely depended upon. Besides, Polybius, the best author extant, who has treated of this particular branch of history, says not a word of it. Livy also, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer, passes it over in silence, as do Florus and Eutropius. These Roman historians would most certainly have taken the greatest pleasure in relating such a story, if founded on authority, as reflecting an eternal shame and dishonour upon their most avowed and inveterate enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmost freedom on all occasions. We think it therefore but equitable to suspend our belief of what Appian and Zonaras have affirmed with regard to the departure of Xantippus.

We have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to Regulus in the subsequent part of his life, and censured Hoffman for differing from a great number of Roman authors in this particular.

Both the Carthaginians and the Romans meet with many disasters.

The Carthaginians, forgetting all former misfortunes, began to talk in a very high strain, threatening even Italy itself with an invasion. The Romans, being informed of this, placed strong garrisons in the maritime towns, that lay most exposed, and equipped a fleet, not only to prevent the enemy from executing the design they had formed, but also to retrieve their affairs in Africa. In the mean time the Carthaginians besieged Clypea and Utica in vain, being obliged to retire from before those places at the approach of the Roman squadron, which had already plundered the island of Cosyra, and left a garrison for its defence. However, they recovered the towns on the frontiers of Numidia, which had revolted ; but could not so easily regain those on the sea-shore. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, they put to sea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a second descent ; and engaged them off Cape Hernia : but being routed, the Romans landed without opposition at Clypea, defeated the Carthaginians in a pitched battle near that place ; and, carrying off the remains of Regulus's army, steered for Sicily. Notwithstanding these victories, the Romans were greatly weakened. In their passage to Sicily, they suffered so dreadful a tempest, that out of three hundred and seventy vessels, of which their fleet was composed, eighty

eighty only escaped. Diodorus Siculus says, they lost three hundred and forty gallies, besides about three hundred transports. Eutropius affirms only eighty gallies remained out of four hundred and sixty-four; insomuch that all the sea-coasts, from Camarina to Pachynum, were strewed with the dead bodies of men and horses, as well as the wrecks of ships. Immediately after this disaster, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, advancing to Agrigentum, soon made himself master of the place. The town he laid in ashes, and demolished the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to Olympieum. The Carthaginians, apprised of this success, immediately sent Asdrubal to Sicily, with a large reinforcement of troops, and a hundred and fifty elephants. They likewise fitted out a squadron, with which they retook the island of Cosyra; and though they had lost nine thousand men in the last action, besides fifteen thousand in the naval engagement, they detached a strong body of forces, under the command of Hamilcar, into Mauritania and Numidia, to punish the people of those countries for shewing a disposition to join the Romans. Hamilcar treated them with the utmost rigour and severity, causing their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer sort to the sword, and exacting from the rest a thousand talents of silver, besides twenty thousand head of cattle. In Sicily the consuls got possession of Cephalœdium by treachery; but Carthalo forced them to raise the siege of Depranum, and retire with great loss. The Carthaginians, however, soon after found themselves obliged to abandon Ietæ, as likewise the territories of the Selinuntines, Petrinians, Ennattafinians, and Tyndarites. The Romans, landing afterwards an army in Sicily, besieged Panormus, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and at last starved it to a surrender. The Carthaginian fleet, posted to observe the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their squadrons, and carried off many of their ships laden with money, and other valuable effects. Both parties soon after terminated the operations of the campaign, the consuls returning to Rome, and the Carthaginians retiring into winter-quarters; so that we hear of no hostilities betwixt them till the following spring ⁴.

The prodigious losses which the Romans had sustained on *The Carthaginians become once more masters at sea.* that element, made them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future against the Carthaginians. Next year, losing a hundred and sixty gallies more on the

⁴ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxiii. in Excerpt. Rhodom. & Höschel. Polyb. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 14. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 9. Eutrop. lib. ii.

coasts of Sicily, they came to a resolution to lay aside all naval operations, and consequently left the Carthaginians masters of the sea. This was not their only misfortune; for, in the late battle with Regulus, the elephants had made such havoc, that, for the two succeeding years, the Roman soldiers in Sicily durst not approach these furious animals. This circumstance prevented the war from being carried on with vigour during that term. The Romans, however, wrested Lipara, Himera, and Therma, out of the hands of the Carthaginians; but were obliged to raise the siege of Ercta. So slow a progress induced them to attempt making a figure once more by sea, hoping on this element to compensate for the terror with which the elephants had struck their legions.

Afdrubal overthrown by Metellus.

Afdrubal, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, perceiving the Romans were afraid of his elephants, marched out of Lilybaeum, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. Metellus, who commanded the Roman forces in the town, seemed to be intimidated at the Carthaginian, till he had passed the river Oethus, when, having him at an advantage, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obstinate for some time, and the Romans were even repulsed by the violence of the elephants: but at last the dartmen wounded these animals in such a manner, that they fell back upon their own troops, and threw them into confusion. This being observed by the Roman general, he sallied with a body of fresh forces out of the town, and, attacking the enemy in flank, defeated them entirely. The Carthaginians lost many men in this action, it being one of the greatest defeats they ever received in Sicily, besides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongst the rest ten with their Indian leaders. The Carthaginian ~~elephants~~ could never after this battle make any impression upon the Roman troops; on which account the victory must justly be considered as of great consequence to them. According to Zonaras, the Carthaginian fleet, being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for numbers of Afdrubal's soldiers, endeavouring to make their escape on board the gallies, fell into the sea, and were drowned. Diodorus intimates, that Afdrubal was compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that, advancing to Panormus, he passed the river Oethus with great temerity; and that some merchants having brought a large quantity of wine into the camp, the

• Liv. Zonar. Diodor. Sicul. Polyb. & Oros. ubi supra.

Celtes drank of it to intoxication, filling all parts with noise, disorder, and confusion; which being observed by Metellus, he sallied from the town, put the Carthaginian army to the rout, and either killed or took prisoners a great number of troops. Sixty elephanis, according to the same author, that fell into the hands of the Romans, were sent to Rome as a great curiosity. It will not be improper to remark, that this exploit happened in the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

Soon after this action the Carthaginians received intelligence that the Romans intended to form the siege of Lilybæum, imagining that the reduction of that place would finish this tedious and bloody war. As they thought the preservation of Lilybæum, which was the only city they now possessed in Sicily, except Drepanum, to be of the utmost consequence to their affairs, they reinforced the garrison with a large body of chosen troops, and strengthened the fortifications in such a manner, as to render the place almost impregnable. Nevertheless, the two consuls, Manlius and Attius, invested it, and after having opened their trenches, carried on the siege with great vigour. The Carthaginians, some time before the beginning of the siege, had raised the city of Selinus, and transplanted the inhabitants to Lilybæum; so that this last place was very populous when the Roman army appeared before it. The garrison was commanded by Himilco, an officer of great conduct and bravery. Though the Romans soon demolished several of the outworks, and even made their approaches to the body of the place, yet Himilco defended it with uncommon intrepidity and resolution. He visited every part of the town, to give the necessary orders, prevent confusion, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his presence. He also made frequent as well as vigorous sallies upon the besiegers. Nor did the attempts of the Romans to undermine the walls of Lilybæum meet with any great success^f.

But what the Romans could not effect by force they attempted to accomplish by treachery. They so far corrupted some of the leaders of the mercenaries, who had escaped the vigilance of the centinels, and come to the camp of one of the consuls, that those traitors engaged to deliver the place into their hands. This treachery would have proved fatal to the Carthaginians, had not Alexon, an Achaian, discovered the whole conspiracy to Himilco; who, assembling all the remaining mercenary officers, acquainted them with

^f Diod. Sic. lib. xxiv. in Excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyh. lib. i. Liv. Epit. lib. xix. Oros. ubi supra, cap. 10. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 15.

the particulars of the horrid design, and, by his singular address, engaged them to persevere in their fidelity to the Carthaginians. Having secured this point, he prevailed upon them next to inspire the soldiers under their command with the same sentiments. He likewise sent Hannibal to keep the Gauls, who greatly esteemed him, firm in the Carthaginian interest; whilst Alexon employed his influence to hinder the Greeks, amongst whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy's measures. These salutary precautions had the desired effect. The mercenary chiefs returning soon after from the Roman camp, found their men so far from listening to their suggestions, that they themselves were driven out of the place with the utmost fury. According to Zonar^s, it was the length of the siege, and a want of pay, that induced the mercenaries to entertain thoughts of betraying the city to the Romans. Of which dissatisfaction Himilco being apprised, he paid the officers their arrears, and appeased the minds of the soldiery by large promises, which extinguished all the sparks of discontent and sedition. This impending storm being blown over, Himilco rewarded Alexon for his fidelity, and continued his fallies upon the Romans with the usual success^s.

The garrison receives a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Carthage;

The Carthaginians, concluding that the garrison of Lilybæum wanted a reinforcement, sent Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, to their assistance, with a body of ten thousand men, and a considerable supply of fresh provisions. That commander made his way through the enemy's gallies, and arrived in the port of Lilybæum. After some stay he passed in the night by the enemy's camp to Drepanum, and had a conference with Adherbal, the Carthaginian commandant in that place; but what this turned upon we are not informed by any of the ancient historians^b.

and burnt in a sally the besiegers battering engines.

All communication betwixt Lilybæum and the other Carthaginian territories being soon after cut off, the garrison was almost reduced to extremity; but at last a storm arose, which broke and rendered useless all the Roman battering engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the town. This unexpected accident induced the Greek troops in garrison to attempt the destruction of the machines that escaped the fury of the tempest; which they easily effected, and put a great number of Romans to the sword. The consuls, upon this terrible blow, desisted from the attack of the town, turning the siege into a blockade, and drawing a line round the

^a Polyb. & Zonar. ubi supra.

^b Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros. ubi supra.

place, to prevent any succours being thrown in. The besieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the enemy, strengthened the fortifications with new works, and determined to defend the town to the last extremity.

Next year *Claudius* the consul put to sea with a powerful fleet, in order to surprise Drepanum; but he was vanquished by Adherbal, the Carthaginian admiral, an officer of great conduct and bravery. *Claudius*, with thirty vessels, escaped out of the fight to the camp at Lilybæum, bringing the consuls intelligence of his defeat; which was the greatest defeat the Romans had received by sea since the commencement of this war.ⁱ

As the Romans had amassed a vast quantity of provisions on board their fleet, Adherbal furnished Lilybæum with a plentiful supply, and filled all his magazines at Drepanum. The Carthaginians, at this juncture, by ravaging the coasts of Italy and Sicily, reduced the natives to extreme poverty. Soon after Hanno, a Carthaginian officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of Junius the consul, as he was steering with a squadron for Lilybæum. However, this loss was soon repaired; for Adherbal, detaching Carthalo with a hundred gallies, to observe the Roman fleet sent to the relief of the camp before Lilybæum, gained several advantages, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing them totally destroyed by a storm. Besides other places Carthalo reduced a strong fort erected at Aegithallus, a town near the foot of Mount Eryx. Notwithstanding all the losses the Romans had sustained, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum with invincible fortitude, cantoning all their troops in the neighbourhood, determined, if possible, to carry the place. Carthalo, by some indiscreet actions, became so unpopular amongst the troops, that he had like to have occasioned universal defection; a circumstance which obliged the Carthaginians to recall him, and appoint Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, general of their forces. This extraordinary person, by his future conduct both in Sicily, Africa, and Spain, demonstrated himself to be the greatest commander who had hitherto appeared at the head of the Carthaginian armies.^k

At this time the Carthaginians were engaged in a war upon the continent of Africa, as well as in Sicily: for, according to Diodorus Siculus, Hanno, a Carthaginian commander, entered Libya at the head of a powerful army,

ⁱ Eutrop. lib. ii. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 2. sub fin. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 4. ex. 3. & lib. viii. cap. 1. ex. 4. ^k Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zosm. ubi sup. Val. Max. lib. i. cap. 4. ex. 3.

Claudius
totally
routed by
Adherbal
in a sea-
fight.

Yr. of Fl.
2111.
Ante Chr.
237.

Carthalo
occasions a
mutiny in
the Cartha-
ginian
army, and
is recalled.

took the city called Hecatompylos, and carried off three thousand hostages to Carthage.

Hamilcar lands in Sicily, makes several motions.

Hamilcar receiving a discretionary power from the senate to act as he should think fit for the service of the republic, sailed from Carthage in the eighteenth year of this war. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was but a youth when he took upon him the command of the army; a circumstance which, considering the bad situation of the Carthaginian affairs, adds great lustre to his first gallant achievements. Having put to death all the ringleaders of the late mutineers, he ravaged the coasts of the Locrians and Brutians, and then made a descent near Panormus with all his forces. Upon his landing he marked out a camp betwixt Panormus and Eryx; which was of itself a sufficient proof of his military genius, since the spot of ground chosen appears, from the description given by Polybius, to have been the most commodious for the end proposed that could possibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment he detached some gallies, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the Roman allies. These executed their orders with great severity, making excursions as far as Cumæ, and desolating the country as they advanced. Upon their return he marched with his army to the walls of Panormus, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For some time the generals on both sides made it their whole business to observe the motions of each other. In short, by marches and countermarches, by encounters and ambuscades, by military feints and stratagems of all kinds, Hamilcar and the consuls strove who should shew the greatest skill and dexterity. This conduct greatly fatigued the soldiers, though it enured them to military discipline, and formed them for action in the most perfect manner.

Neither side can force the other to a battle.

Both the Carthaginian and Roman camps were, by art and nature, rendered impregnable; so that neither side could force the other to a battle. The military operations, therefore, for a considerable period of time, consisted in encounters betwixt parties, who, on both sides, behaved with great bravery. The success of these skirmishes was various, sometimes one party being victorious, and sometimes the other. The Carthaginians however in general, from what we find in Polybius, had the advantage, especially as Diodorus intimates, that Hamilcar took a castle of considerable strength in the territory of Catana, before he advanced to Eryx¹.

¹ Polyb. & Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

The Romans had, for some time past, desisted from all naval preparations, being deterred by the terrible disasters they had suffered at sea. They had confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their forces much more than a match for those of Carthage. But now finding themselves disappointed, by the excellent conduct of Hamilcar; and that, instead of carrying their point in Sicily, they were even themselves reduced to great difficulties by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. For this purpose, a fleet was first equipped by private persons. This squadron of gallies was of considerable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the Romans to the sea, to which they were now, in a manner, strangers. They committed great depredations on the coasts of Africa; and, entering the port of Hippo, notwithstanding the citizens had endeavoured to prevent their entrance, by securing the mouth of the harbour with a large and strong chain, they laid the greatest part of the town, together with the shipping, in ashes. Having filled their vessels with spoils, they returned to Panormus, near which place they obtained a victory over the enemy. In the mean time two consuls separately pushed on the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepanum. The Romans likewise dislodged the Carthaginians from the little island of Peliadis, or Columbaria; which Hamilcar in vain attempted to retake. Fabius, who carried on the siege of Drepanum with incredible labour, afterwards joined this island to the continent; a work which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave Hamilcar terribly harassed the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering the coasts of Italy^m.

About three years after Hamilcar's arrival in Sicily, he took Eryx by surprize. The town was situated on the declivity of a mountain of the same name, and had fallen again into the hands of the Romans since the reduction of it by Carthalo. What rendered this action the more remarkable, was, that the Romans had not only a body of troops in the town, but were likewise in possession both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had forts defended by strong garrisons. By the possession of this post, the Romans on the summit of the mountain laboured under all the hardships and inconveniences of a siege. Notwithstanding which, they bore all their fatigues with wonderful patience, and behaved with incredible valour and resolution.

*The Ro.
mans equip.
a priva-
teer-squa-
dron.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2116.
Ante Chr.
232.*

*Hamilcar
takes Eryx.*

^m Flor. lib. ii. cap. 3. sub fin. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 16.

Hamilcar

Hamilcar maintained himself in the advantageous post he had gained with equal bravery. However, as the Romans were masters of the open country, he found himself sometimes distressed for want of provisions, and with great difficulty preserved the avenue, keeping open a communication with the sea, by means of which he, from time to time, received supplies. Both sides remained in this situation for the space of two years ; during which time the Romans continued the blockade of Lilybaeum⁹.

*The Romans fit
out a new
fleet,*

In the consulate of C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Postumius, the Romans equipped a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes, at the expence of private persons. The command of this armament was given to Lutatius, with an intention to strike a considerable stroke, and force fortune to declare in favour of the Romans. In the first place the consul seized the port of Drepanum, and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of Lilybaeum. Afterwards he exercised his soldiers and seamen with the utmost diligence, firmly believing, that a general action by sea must prove decisive. Soon after their entrance into the haven of Drepanum, the Romans attempted to storm the town, and would have succeeded in their attempt, had not the consul been wounded. But this accident occasioned some confusion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulsing them. Zonaras observes, that when the fleets on both sides were drawn up in order of battle off the islands called $\text{\textcircled{E}}$ gades, a blazing star or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties, but seemed to point directly at the Carthaginians. Though the wind proved unfavourable to Lutatius when he came in sight of the enemy's fleet, yet he resolved to attack them, since he expected every moment to be joined by Hamilcar, whose name was become terrible to the Romans. The Carthaginians, intending to make their last effort by sea, had collected their whole naval power, consisting of four hundred sail. Both fleets made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of Sicily¹⁰.

*which en-
tirely de-
feats that
of the Car-
thaginians.*

Though the gallies, of which the Carthaginian armament was composed, greatly exceeded those of the Romans in number, yet, in many respects, the Roman squadron was much superior to the Carthaginian. For as the forces on board the latter consisted, for the most part, of raw and undisciplined levies, Lutatius had taken care to man the former with choice troops, and able seamen; besides, as

⁹ Polyb. Diod. Sic. Corn. Nep. ubi supra.

¹⁰ Polyb. Liv. Flor.

Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra. cap. 7. Eutrop. lib. ii. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 10.

his vessels were built after the model of the galley taken from Hannibal the Rhodian, in lightness and activity they far excelled those of the enemy. To which considerations we may add, that the Carthaginians held the naval power of the Romans in the highest contempt, as having, for some years, been masters at sea. They, therefore, upon the first notice of the enemy's motions, being greatly surprised, put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the place, in whose service they were engaged. Hanno therefore made but a faint resistance, his forces being routed at the first attack. Florus says, that the Carthaginian fleet was heavily laden with troops, baggage, arms, and provisions, so that the holy city of Carthage seemed to have been about to burn, and that the vessels could not move with any alacrity, a circumstance which greatly contributed to Hanno's defeat. The loss of the Carthaginians on this melancholy occasion is greatly exaggerated by Eutropius, who affirms, that they had seventy-three ships taken, a hundred and twenty-five sunk, thirty-two thousand men made prisoners, thirteen thousand killed or drowned, and that an immense quantity of gold and silver fell into the hands of the victors. Orosius corroborates his account; but Polybius, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, maintains, that the Romans sunk only five of the Carthaginian vessels, and took fifteen with their crews, the rest escaping to the isle of Illyria. Lutatius then advanced to the city of Eryx, where engaging the Carthaginians, he cut off two thousand men. This last action concluded the operations of the first Punic war.^p

The Roman nation, all insolent in prosperity, were so elated with their victory, that Lutatius insisted upon Hamilcar's delivering up his arms. But this haughty demand was rejected with the scorn and indignation it deserved. The consul, however, finding that Hamilcar was invested with full powers to sign a treaty, did not push things to the last extremity. Being desirous of having the honour of putting a period to a war, which had cost both republics such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, before the expiration of his office he concluded a peace with that general, upon the terms already mentioned. But then this was done upon condition, that it should be ratified by the senate and people of Rome.^q Zonaras intimates, that the senate of

This action followed by a peace.

^p Oros. lib. iv. cap. 10. ut & Lucius Ampel. in lib. Memorial. cap. 46. ^q Polyb. Corn. Nep. Zonara ubi supra. Alfenus Varus in lib. digest. 34. & conjectan. 2. apud Aul. Gell. in Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. 5. & Oros. ubi supra, cap. 11.

Carthage sent a deputation directly to Lutatius to sue for peace ; but he must give way to the superior authority of Polybius and Cornelius Nepos, who affirm, that Hamilcar Barcas had the management of the whole transaction. The people of Rome, elated with their unexpected success, and considering the republic of Carthage as lying at their mercy, refused to ratify the treaty, till they had sent ten deputies to Sicily, to inform themselves of the situation of affairs. These, in conjunction with the consul, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the following additional articles should be inserted in it : 1. The Carthaginians shall add to the sum already specified two hundred Euboic talents. 2. A thousand Euboic talents shall be paid immediately, upon the ratification of the treaty ; and the remainder in ten years time. 3. The Carthaginians shall not approach with their great ships, either the coasts of Italy, or any territories belonging to the allies of Rome. 4. They shall not make levies, either in the dominions of the Romans, or those of their allies. 5. They shall abandon all the little islands between Sicily and the coast of Italy. As these rigid conditions were extorted from Hamilcar by the Romans, because they found him not in a situation to refuse them, he, from this moment, conceived an invincible aversion to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breathe, that he might have an opportunity of chastising them in the sequel, for their unparalleled insolence through the whole course, and more particularly at the conclusion, of this war.

The Libyan war. The Carthaginians were no sooner extricated out of this bloody and expensive war, than they found themselves engaged in another, which had nearly proved fatal to the state. The mercenary troops that had served under Hamilcar in Sicily, and distinguished themselves greatly on all occasions, found Carthage so exhausted, that far from being able to give them the largesses and rewards promised by Hamilcar, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with some other concurring causes, occasioned a war, which, for three years and a half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with such instances of cruelty as are scarce to be paralleled in history. The ancient historians call it the Libyan or African war, and sometimes the War with the Mercenaries.

As soon as Hamilcar had concluded the treaty above mentioned, he retired, with the forces which were in Eryx, to Lilybeum, and resigned his commission, leaving to Gisco, the commandant of that place, the care of transporting them

to Africa. Gisco, being an officer of great penetration, foreseeing what would happen, did not ship them off all at once, but in small and separate detachments, that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home before the arrival of the rest. The Carthaginians, however, did not act with the same forecast and precaution. As they were almost entirely impoverished by the last war, and the immense sum of money paid to the Romans, they judged it would be a commendable action to save something to the public; not considering the injustice, as well as imprudence of the measure they were going to pursue. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived, thinking it more proper to wait till they should be all assembled, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remission of some part of their arrears. But being soon made sensible of their imprudent conduct on this occasion, by the frequent disorders those Barbarians committed in the city, they with some difficulty prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood. As an inducement to comply with this proposal, they gave them a sum of money for their present subsistence, and promised to satisfy their demands, when the remainder of their troops arrived from Sicily. For some time the mercenaries refused to begin their march, because the Carthaginians were not disposed to permit their wives and children to remain in Carthage, as they desired, believing that this indulgence would be an inducement to the soldiers to return often to the city, and consequently deprive them of the benefits they had proposed from their departure. However, this difficulty was at last overcome; and all the mercenaries already arrived in Africa, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to Sicca. This step certainly ought to be considered as an oversight in the Carthaginians, since, had the women and children remained in Carthage, they would have been as so many hostages for the future good behaviour of the soldiers'.

These troops being soon corrupted by idleness, a neglect of discipline ensued, and of course a petulant and licentious spirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquiesce in receiving their bare pay, but to insist upon the rewards Hamilcar had promised them, and even to compel the state of Carthage to comply with their demands by force of arms. The senate being apprised of the mutinous disposition of the soldiery, dispatched Hanô, one of the suffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at Sicca,

The mercenary troops of the Carthaginians greatly disgusted.

Hanno increases their disgust.

He behaved in a very preposterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated upon the poverty of the state, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded : and therefore, instead of answering their expectations, he desired them to be satisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to serve the pressing exigencies of the republic ⁴.

*Upon
which they
advanc
in a body
to Tunes.*

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this conduct of Hanno, excepting that of the Carthaginians, when they employed a person so unqualified for the business he went upon. In the first place, he exposed his country's weakness to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them, by refusing to comply with their just demands, when they seemed determined to insist upon a compliance with those that were extravagant. But this person's conduct was uniform, both in his civil and military capacity, as will appear in the course of this war ; so that Carthage must have been ruined, had she not found so able a general as Hamilcar to support her in the time of her great distress. In short, the mercenaries being exasperated that neither Hamilcar, nor any other of the principal officers who commanded them in Sicily, and who were the best judges of their merit, appeared on this occasion, but only Hanno, a person utterly unknown, and above all others disagreeable to them, had immediate recourse to arms. Assembling therefore in a body, to the number of twenty thousand men, they advanced to Tunes, and encamped before that city ⁵.

*The mer-
cenaries
break out
into an open
rebellion.*

The Carthaginians, terrified at the approach of so formidable a body to Tunes, made large concessions to the mercenaries, in order to recall them to their duty. They ordered supplies of provisions at their own prices, and sent a deputation of senators to confer with their chiefs, and if possible to give them satisfaction. Far from being satisfied, they grew more insolent upon these concessions, taking them for the effects of fear and weakness in the Carthaginians. As this powerful corps consisted of Iberians, Gauls, Ligurians, natives of the Balearic islands, Greeks, and Africans, who were strangers to one another's language, the Carthaginians found it impossible to treat with them. Many of them likewise being slaves and deserters, consequently expecting capital punishment, either for this rebellion, or other enormous crimes, did their utmost to prevent all friendly intercourse with the state of Carthage. They more-

⁴ Idem ibid. & Appian, in Libyc. p. 7. edit. Tollii, Amt. 1670.
⁵ Polyb. ubi supra.

over considered that republic as destitute of troops, and themselves as the best soldiers in the world. These considerations, for some time, made them entirely averse to all thoughts of an accommodation : they rose in their demands, without the least regard to reason or justice. They practised the vilest arts to extort money from their masters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some fresh pretension. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them ? they still would be reimbursed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of horses, the excessive price they had at certain times paid for their corn, or their short allowance of provisions at those seasons. They insisted also upon the recompence due to their merit, so often promised ; and that in all these points they should have immediate satisfaction. The Carthaginians, finding themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity, shewed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, and agreed to refer themselves to the opinion of some general in Sicily, as they had all along desired, leaving the choice of such commander entirely to the troops. Accordingly they appointed Gisco to mediate this affair, believing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had received, since he never appeared amongst them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. Gisco soon arrived at Tunes with money to pay the troops ; and after conferring with the officers, and the several nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner. He reminded them of the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service ; the considerable sums they had received from the republic ; and in short gave them to understand, that all their reasonable demands would be complied with : but at the same time he desired them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and rest satisfied with their pay. This remonstrance made such an impression upon the minds of the soldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of the principal mutineers, occasioned another tumult in the camp. Spendius was a Campanian, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was strong, active, and extremely bold. The apprehensions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old master, if a pacification took place, urged him to break off the accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free-born ; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Carthaginians, he knew that a

peace

peace must infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly espoused the interests of Spendius, and insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this would leave them singly exposed to the rage of the Carthaginians. "The Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, and Greeks (said he), after having received their arrears, will be dismissed, and henceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repose amongst their countrymen at home; whereas you, being left alone, will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, and, destitute of support, fall an easy sacrifice to the resentment of your imperious masters." These insinuations gave a new turn to affairs, and so incensed the Africans, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately assembled in a mutinous manner. The foreigners soon joined them, being inspired by Spendius with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongst them but the most horrid imprecations uttered against Gisco and the Carthaginians. Whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or attend to temperate counsels, was stoned to death by the enraged multitude. Many persons lost their lives, barely presuming to speak, before the purport of their discourse could be known, or any one could infer, whether they were in the interest of the Carthaginians or Spendius. As the state of Carthage had very impolitely supplied the malcontent with plenty of wine, and all kinds of provisions, they indulged themselves with great freedom; and being at this juncture heated with wine, which they had drank to excess, they gave a full vent to their rage and insolence, threatening the African republic with utter destruction. No one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of Spendius and Mathos to lead them in the intended expedition ^a.

And ad-
vance to-
wards
Utica.

In the midst of these commotions, Gisco behaved with great firmness and intrepidity. That general had too much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to desist from attempting to reduce the mutineers to reason, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation. He left no methods untried to mollify the officers, and calm the minds of the soldiery, though at the same time he preserved an air of dignity and command, giving them to understand, that Carthage was not in such low circumstances as they imagined. But the many false steps the Carthaginians had been guilty of, since the commencement of these troubles,

^a Polyb. & Appian. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. lib. xxv. in Excerpt. Valer.

defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The torrent of sedition was now become so strong and rapid, that there was no possibility of stemming it, or keeping it within bounds. A scarcity of provisions succeeding their late plenty and profusion, the troops, in an insolent manner, demanded of Gisco an immediate supply, who, to reprove their insolence, bade them apply for it to Mathos their captain. Such an incident as this, considering the present disposition of the malecontents, could not avoid setting the whole camp in a flame. "Shall he with impunity (said they) not only refuse redressing our just grievances and complaints, but turn even our wants and necessities into ridicule?" In a moment, therefore, they seized upon the military chest, dividing the money amongst themselves, in part of their arrears, put the person of Gisco under arrest, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmost indignity. Mathos and Spendius, to destroy the remotest hopes of a reconciliation with Carthage, applauded the courage and resolution of their men, loaded the unhappy Gisco and his followers with irons, and formally declared war against the Carthaginians. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had sent deputies to exhort them to recover their liberty, soon joined them, except Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus, or, as Polybius calls it, Hippacra. By this accession their army being greatly increased, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards Utica, whilst the other marched to Hippo, in order to besiege both those places. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, found themselves ready to sink under the pressure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been exposed to such imminent danger. Every thing at present seemed to conspire to their ruin. The citizens drew their particular subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from Africa; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worse, it was employed against them. They were destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; had made no preparations for sustaining a siege, or equipping a fleet; they suffered all the calamities incident to the most ruinous civil war; and, to complete their misery, had not the least prospect of receiving assistance from any foreign friend or ally.*

Such was the present melancholy situation of Carthage, which the Carthaginians had brought upon themselves, by their numerous instances of cruelty, injustice, and ill con-

*The true
causes of
this re-
bellion.*

* Polyb. & Diodor. ad locum.

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draft. During the last war, they had most tyrannically oppressed all the African nations subject to them, by imposing excessive tributes, in the exactation of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of misery. They never sent such governors into the provinces as were likely to gain the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation; but, on the contrary, such only as would fleece them, in order to fit out fleets, and raise armies, for the ambitious purposes of the republic, where Hanno at that time governed with almost absolute power. It cannot therefore be thought strange, that the Africans were so easily prevailed upon to engage in rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable taxes and imposts, as likewise suffering cruel deaths for the slightest crimes, shewed themselves extremely active in promoting a revolution. They not only entered into an association to annoy so barbarous and inhuman an enemy, but likewise with pleasure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. Mathos and Spendius, therefore, by such seasonable and large supplies, found themselves enabled not only to animate their soldiers by a speedy payment of the sums promised them, but likewise to fettle a sufficient fund for the future exigencies of the war.

The Carthaginians make preparations to reduce the mercenaries to reason.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, did not despond, but pursued the measures necessary to put themselves in a posture of defence. As Hanno had already distinguished himself in their service, they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces. Troops, horse as well as foot, were levied both for land and sea-service. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; the horse exercised with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new gallies built, and all the old ships refitted. In short, the most extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers, but even to reduce them to reason by force of arms.

Mathos and Spendius besiege Utica and Hippacra, and draw off the forces of Utica.

In the mean time Mathos and Spendius, having an army of seventy thousand men, at their devotion, invested Utica and Hippacra at one and the same time, and pushed on both those sieges with the utmost vigour: but, as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that pur-

Tunes, and thereby cut off all communication betwixt Carthage and the continent of Africa. This disposition greatly weakened the Carthaginians, whose capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The Africans likewise harassed them with perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of Carthage by day as well as by night, and treating with the utmost cruelty every Carthaginian that fell into their hands.

Hanno, a general more to be esteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, marched to the relief of Utica with a strong body of forces, a hundred elephants, and a large train of battering-engines. Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their entrenchments; and, after an obstinate dispute, by the help of his elephants, made himself master of their camp. As the elephants did great execution, the mercenaries lost a great number of men in the action, and consequently the advantage gained was so considerable, that it might have proved decisive, had Hanno made a proper use of it; but not entertaining a right idea of these veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of Hamilcar in Sicily, to fly before an enemy, face about, and attack their pursuers, as occasion should require, he imagined he had routed a body of raw undisciplined Africans and Numidians, who upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country. After he had entered the town, he lay there in great security, his troops, in the meantime, ordered to guard the camp, every where neglecting their duty. The mercenaries, who, after Hanno's victory, had rallied upon a neighbouring eminence, strong by its situation, and covered with a wood, where they had posted themselves, being informed of this want of discipline, poured down upon them, cut many off, forced the rest to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the provisions, and military stores, brought from Carthage to the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; another instance of his military incapacity soon discovered itself: though he lay encamped in the most advantageous manner near a town called Gorza (I), at which place he twice defeated the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve these advantages, and even suffered the mer-

*Hanno first
against
them; who
behaves
very im-
prudently.*

(I) It may be collected from *Ibid.* joining the peninsula on Polybius, that the town of Gorza, which Carthage stood to the east was situated in the neighbourhood of Africa, though the neighbourhood of Utica, and not far from the isthmus or neck of Libya determined.

centaries to possess themselves of the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, on which Carthage stood, to the continent of Africa.

Hamilcar commands the Carthaginians in his room, Such repeated blunders, which had almost proved fatal to the republic, incensed the Carthaginians, and induced them once more to place Hamilcar Barcas at the head of the forces. This dismissal was extremely mortifying to Hanno, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the Barchine faction, and of course infused new life into Hamilcar, and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during Hanno's influence, were excluded from all posts in the administration. Hamilcar, in all respects, answered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched against the enemy with an army of about ten thousand men, horse and foot, and seventy elephants, all the troops the Carthaginians could at that time assemble for their defence; which is a convincing proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As Mathos, after he had made himself master of the isthmus, had posted proper detachments in two passes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the Bagrada, which, through Hanno's neglect, he had taken, Hamilcar saw little probability of fighting him upon equal terms, or indeed of drawing him to an engagement. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to a stratagem at this critical conjuncture, especially as Mathos lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmost vigilance. Observing that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choked with sand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river passable, though with great difficulty, as long as those winds continued, he halted some time at the river's mouth, without communicating his design to any person. As soon as the wind favoured his intended project, he passed the river privately by night, without the least opposition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any such attempt. Immediately after his passage, he drew up the troops, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards Mathos, who was posted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to Hamilcar's glory, being of so daring a nature, that it equally surprised the malecontents and the Carthaginians.

The Africans being informed that Hamilcar succeeded Hannibal in the command of the Carthaginian army, that he

had already passed the Bagrada, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmost consternation. They well knew, that they had not now to deal with a man of Hanno's genius, but with the greatest captain of the age; a captain, from whom they themselves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely superior to all their generals in every branch of it. However Spendius, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thousand men out of Matho's camp, with which he attended Hamilcar on one side, and ordered fifteen thousand men from Utica to observe him on the other, thinking to surround the Carthaginians, and cut off both their army and general at one stroke. Hamilcar in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in order of battle: but observing the mercenaries approached him with great temerity, though at the same time with resolution, and as much confidence as if they had been sure of victory, he suddenly changed his order of battle, retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of being attacked. This motion answered the end proposed; for the mercenaries, considering it as the effect of fear, and consequently as a tacit acknowledgement of their valour and superiority, fell upon him with great fury, but without any discipline or order. Hamilcar therefore facing about in an instant, and his horse behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were soon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own troops coming to their relief, and mistaking them for the Carthaginians, they engaged them; upon which a dreadful slaughter ensued. In fine, Hamilcar gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had six thousand men killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. The rest fled, some to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at Utica. Hamilcar did not give the enemy time to recover from their confusion, but pursued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge; which he entered without opposition, the mercenaries flying in great confusion to Tunes. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, submitted to the Carthaginians; others Hamilcar reduced by force. In short, the Carthaginians, finding that Hamilcar had seized many of the enemy's advantageous posts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would soon put a happy conclusion to this destructive war.^b

Notwithstanding these disasters, Matho pushed on the ^{Hamilcar} ~~affid by~~ ^{affid by} ~~Narquin~~ ^{Narquin} ~~ses.~~ siege of Hippo with great vigour, and appointed Spendius

Polyb. lib. supra. & Corn. Nep. lib. supra.

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and Autaritus commander of the Gauls, with a strong body of troops, to observe the motions of Hamilcar, advising them above all things to guard against a surprize; which, considering the abilities of that general, as well as his superiority in horse and elephants, was a very wholesome admonition. At the same time he solicited the Numidians, and neighbouring Africans, to furnish a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmost efforts at the present conjuncture, which seemed to be the only opportunity left of recovering their liberty, to assert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the Carthaginians. Spendius and Autaritus, therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of six thousand men, drawn out of the camp at Tunes, and two thousand Gallic horse, watched Hamilcar, approaching him as near as they could with safety, and keeping close to the skirts of the mountains, as they had been advised. At last Spendius, having received a strong reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and possessing himself of all the heights surrounding the place in which Hamilcar lay encamped, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking that general. Accordingly he placed the Numidians in the rear, and the Africans in front, whilst himself, with his first detachment, was resolved to charge the enemy in flank; and, having made this disposition, boldly advanced towards the Carthaginians. Had a battle ensued, Hamilcar and his whole army must, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good fortune interposing, saved them both. It happened, that at that time Naravafus, a young Numidian nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, commanded a body of Numidians in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out of the present war, had been a great promoter of the Carthaginian interest, on account of the friendship that had subsisted many years past betwixt his father and that nation; and, being now charmed with the reputation of Hamilcar, was determined to renew his former good understanding with Carthage, and not suffer so brave a man to be sacrificed. He, therefore, with a hundred Numidian horse, approached the Carthaginian lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had something of importance to communicate to the general. As the Carthaginians expressed some diffidence, he immediately dismounted, and, leaving his horse and arms, went directly to Hamilcar's tent, without the least distrust or suspicion. He then informed Hamilcar, that he was well disposed towards the Carthaginian nation in general, but that to contract a friendship with him, for whom he had the most profound veneration and esteem, was the

height of his ambition. Hamilcar, greatly admiring so generous, polite, and gallant an action, made an equal return of gallantry, politeness, and generosity. He made Naravallus his absolute confidant in all points. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his most secret designs; and afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the fame of this event, two thousand Numidians came over in a body to Hamilcar, who, strengthened by such a seasonable reinforcement, found himself in a condition to give Spendius and Autaritus battle. The fight was obstinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time doubtful; but the young Numidian most eminently distinguishing himself, and the Carthaginian elephants bearing down all before them, the mercenaries were at last entirely overthrown. Spendius and Autaritus escaped by flight, but left ten thousand of their men dead upon the spot, besides four thousand taken prisoners. All the prisoners, who were willing to enlist in the Carthaginian service, Hamilcar received amongst his troops, supplying them with the arms of the soldiers who had fallen in the engagement. The rest he dismissed, on condition that they should never for the future bear arms against the Carthaginians. However, he acquainted them, that as many violators of this agreement as should hereafter fall into his hands, must expect to suffer death without mercy.

Mathos, Spendius, and Autaritus, the chiefs of the malcontents, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occasion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient to prevent this misfortune would be, to engage them in some action so execrable in its own nature, as should deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having assembled them as though something of moment had been imparted to them, a messenger, as had been previously concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in Sardinia, who had followed the example of the Africans, giving them advice of a secret design formed by some of their companions, in conjunction with Gisco, to rescue that general, and all his followers, out of prison at Tunes, where they had been so long detained. Spendius on this occasion made a speech to the soldiers, wherein he exhorted them not to be imposed upon by Hamilcar's pretended clemency, since this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take ample vengeance all at once. He farther advised them to have a strict eye upon Gisco, insinuating

*The chiefs
of the mer-
cenaries
guilty of
great crimi-
nality.*

ing, that the escape of an officer of such influence and capacity might be attended with the most fatal consequences. He had scarce finished, when another courier arrived, as was pretended, from Tunes, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon Autaritus, addressing himself to the soldiery, moved, in support of what Spendius had advanced, that whoever should shew any disposition to repose the least confidence in the Carthaginian promises or insinuations, should be deemed a traitor; and, in short, gave it as his opinion, that Gisco, and all the Carthaginians with him, ought immediately to be cut off. Autaritus, being very popular in the army, and supposed to have a thorough knowlege of the Carthaginians, as having resided long amongst them, and being a perfect master of their language, was listened to with great attention. His speech made such an impression, that the whole assembly acquiesced in the proposal, though some of every nation joined in a petition, that, as Gisco had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be dispatched without any torture: but great part of the army being composed of such a variety of nations, and not understanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to their remonstrance. In conformity therefore to that savage brutality so natural to them, the mercenaries first stoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the Carthaginians in the late engagements, who were soon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of Spendius, executed Gisco, and seven hundred Carthaginians with him, as the vilest malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies dismembered, and afterwards thrown almost breathing into a hole prepared for that purpose. The Carthaginians, being apprised of these inhuman cruelties, were most sensibly touched, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. In the mean time Hamilcar, sending a herald to demand the remains of his countrymen, in order to pay them the last mournful office, received this answer, that whoever presumed hereafter to come upon that errand, should meet with Gisco's fate. They likewise came to an immediate resolution to treat such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands with the same barbarity. As for their countrymen in the Carthaginian service, who should happen to be taken prisoners, they passed a decree, first to cut off their hands, and then send them to Carthage; which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality.

Hamilcar, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of the Carthaginians, ordered Hanno, who, it seems,

seems, at that time commanded a separate body, to join him, that they might act with the greater vigour against the enemy. In order to deter the malecontents from such enormous proceedings for the future, he threw all the prisoners that fell into his hands to be devoured by wild beasts, being convinced, that compassion served only to render them more fierce and untractable. And now, when the Carthaginians were just beginning, as it were, to breathe, and recover their spirits, several unlucky accidents again concurred to depress them. By reason of a misunderstanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy; a great supply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them from Emporium by sea, were all lost in a storm; Sardinia, which had always served them as a magazine in their greatest distress, was totally lost, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe; and, to complete their misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of Utica and Hippacra, the only cities which, till then, had preserved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when Agathocles and the Romans made their descents in Africa. The inhabitants of these towns, not satisfied with entering into an alliance with Mathos and Spendius, massacred the Carthaginian garrison, consisting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls: and, to imitate their allies in all their brutality, they refused them burial, though the Carthaginians, by their ambassadors, in pressing terms besought this favour. The mercenaries, animated by such success, advanced to the very walls of Carthage; with an intention to lay siege to that city^d.

*Utica and
Hippacra
revolt to
the merce-
naries.*

The Carthaginians, being apprised of the division betwixt their generals, and seeing the fatal effects of it, resolved to separate them; but left the determination of this point entirely to the army, who, having had long experience of the great merit of Hamilcar, continued him in his command. Hanno was therefore recalled a second time to Carthage, and Hannibal, an officer more agreeable to Hamilcar, sent to supply his place. Upon Hannibal's arrival in the camp, affairs soon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not impeded as formerly. They sent out detachments to plunder and ravage the country, in order to cut off all subsistence from the enemy; a design which they happily effected, destroying or carrying off

*Hiero affis-
the Car-
thaginians.*

all the stores and provisions. This, however, did not entirely relieve the garrison at Carthage, which was reduced to great extremities. The Carthaginians, therefore, were obliged to have recourse to their friends, and particularly to Hiero king of Syracuse, who granted what was demanded of him, both now, and throughout the whole course of this war. That prince, as Polybius observes, acted according to the maxims of true policy on this occasion : for, if Carthage had been destroyed, Rome would have had no rival to contend with in any future times; and, therefore, he himself might soon have lain at the mercy of the Romans, without a possibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power¹.

They also applied to the Romans for assistance at this critical juncture, though they had, since the conclusion of the last treaty, disengaged that nation. At the beginning of this war, they had seized upon several Roman vessels trading to the coasts of Africa, for supplying the enemy with military stores, and provisions ; and detained the crews, consisting of five hundred men, in custody. The Romans, incensed at this insult, threatened the Carthaginians with their resentment, if they did not release the prisoners, and restore the ships. The Carthaginians, either out of a principle of fear or generosity, immediately sent both the men and ships to Rome, and that in so polite a manner, as gave the Romans entire satisfaction. The Romans, therefore, not to be outdone in point of civility, at this time released all the prisoners that still remained in their hands since the late war, without ransom, ordered their merchants to assist Carthage with what it wanted, and prohibited all commerce with the Africans ; at the same time both the malecontents of Africa and Sardinia offered to submit, and to put them into the immediate possession both of Sardinia and the town of Utica ; which overture they refused. These instances of success animating the Carthaginians, they bore the fatigues of the siege with great constancy. In short, Mathos and Spendius, being extremely harassed by Hamilcar, who, by stratagems and ressorts, daily cut off great numbers of their men, and so distressed them for want of provisions, that they apprehended a speedy famine, found themselves obliged to abandon the siege².

Notwithstanding this disgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the field with an army of fifty thousand effective men, having been joined by Zarbas, the head of an

*Strange
wishes
of fortune.*

¹ Zonar. lib. iii. cap. 4. ² Polyb. lib. supra. Zonar. lib. iii.

African hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing arms. They watched Hamilcar's motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, on account of Naravasus's Numidian horse, and the Carthaginian elephants. Hamilcar, being much superior to any of their generals in every branch of the military art, frequently defeated their designs; sometimes dispossessing them of their advantageous posts; at other times drawing them into ambuscades; and often defeating them in encounters, by which means he slew abundance of their men. If any of their soldiers straggled from the main body of the army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown to wild beasts, that he might, in some measure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of Spendius. In short, he harassed the enemy by such a variety of methods, that he greatly dejected them, and inspired his own troops with fresh courage and vigour. At last, he surprised them when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to escape. Here he kept them closely besieged, lying at ease in his camp, and being plentifully supplied with all kinds of necessaries. The mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, and finding it impossible to retreat, began to fortify their camp with ditches and intrenchments. Conscious of their enormous guilt, they despaired of mercy, and therefore concluded it would be in vain to make any overtures to Hamilcar. They were soon so severely pressed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exercised on others. As they could not entertain the least hope of an accommodation, after having been so deeply concerned in such bloody scenes, and knew what punishments would be inflicted, in case they fell alive into the hands of the enemy, they saw they had no resource left, and therefore prepared themselves for the measures which should be dictated by despair. The forces from Tunes did not come to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily large strides amongst them. After having eaten their prisoners and slaves, they were obliged to devour one another. At length, impelled by extreme misery, they insisted, that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, should in person make proposals to Hamilcar, and to that end demand a conference. Accordingly, having obtained a safe-conduct, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms: that ten of the ringleaders of the malcontents should be left entirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians; and that the troops should all be disbanded, every

man retiring with a single garment. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than Hamilcar seized upon the negotiators themselves, by virtue of the first article; a circumstance which favoured not a little of Punic subtlety. The army, being informed that their chiefs were under arrest, and at the same time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting that they were betrayed; but Hamilcar, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately surrounded, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place where this bloody tragedy was acted was called Prion. The number of the wretches who perished amounted to above forty thousand.

Mathos takes Hannibal prisoner, and crucifies him.

After this massacre Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Naravafus, scoured the country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According to the plan of operations, Hamilcar immediately invested Tunes, into which place Mathos retired with his remaining forces. Hannibal's quarter was on the road leading to Carthage, and Hamilcar's on the opposite side. The army was no sooner encamped, than Hamilcar crucified Spendius, and the rest of the prisoners, to be led out in view of the besieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos, by this example, was apprised of the fate he must expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Observing that Hannibal did not keep so good a guard as due discipline required, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of Spendius from the cross on which it was fixed, he substituted Hannibal in its place; and thirty Carthaginian prisoners of distinction, who all expired in exquisite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as Polybius expresses it, giving both sides an opportunity of vying with each other in cruelty. Hamilcar being at some distance from his colleague, it was some time before intelligence of his misfortune reached him; and the road betwixt them being impassable, had he received earlier intelligence of the situation of affairs on that side, he could not have moved with any expedition to his assistance. He therefore immediately decamped, and posted himself along the sea-coast, near the mouth of the river Bagrada.

The Carthaginians were terrified at this last disaster; however, they omitted no means necessary for their preservation. They sent thirty senators, with Hanno at the

head of them, to consult with Hamilcar about the proper measures to be taken for speedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the most pressing manner Hannibal to be reconciled to Hamilcar, and to sacrifice his private resentment to the public welfare. This desire was complied with, and the two generals came to a determined resolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The senate at the same time, ordered all the youth, capable of bearing arms, to be pressed into the service; by which means a strong reinforcement being sent to Hamilcar, he soon found himself in a condition to act offensively; so that the Carthaginian affairs began to have a better aspect. Hamilcar defeated the enemy in various encounters, drew Mathos into frequent ambuscades, and gave him one terrible overthrow near Leptis. This reduced him to the necessity of hazarding a decisive battle with the Carthaginians, which proved fatal to him. Both sides engaged with equal fury; but victory was not long in suspense, the mercenaries flying almost upon the first attack. Most of their army fell upon the field of battle, and in the pursuit; Mathos, with a few, fled to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to Carthage. All the revolted towns, except Utica and Hippo, which had behaved in such a manner, as to exclude themselves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. Hamilcar, sitting down before those cities, soon reduced them, and thereby concluded this war. Mathos, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons and unparalleled barbarities. From the excesses of cruelty committed in it, Polybius tells us, that this war was generally distinguished amongst the Greeks by the name of the Inexpiable War.

During the Libyan war, the mercenaries in Sardinia declared against the Carthaginians, excited by the example of Mathos and Spendius in Africa. They seized upon the person of Bostar, who commanded in the citadel of Olbia, and massacred both him and the Carthaginian garrison. The senate, apprised of this revolt, sent Hanno, with a strong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reason. Hanno, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and not only crucified their leader, but put to the sword all the Carthaginians they could find in the island. They possessed themselves of all the strong places, though, in a short time, they were expelled by the natives, and forced to take shelter in Italy. The Romans, notwithstanding the friendship they had lately

The Romans extort Sardinia and a vast sum from the Carthaginians.

exercised

expressed for the Carthaginians, gave countenance and protection to these fugitives. They sent the consul Sempronius, on trifling pretences, with a fleet, to reinstate those malecontents, and take possession of Sardinia; which the Carthaginians being now in a manner exhausted, were obliged to cede. Not content with this iniquitous interpolation, they obliged the Carthaginians to defray the expence of their armament, and besides extorted from them the sum of twelve hundred talents. Such perfidious conduct could not fail of heightening the aversion Hamilcar had already conceived, and did not a little contribute to the second Punic war, and to those dreadful devastations which Hannibal afterwards committed in Italy¹.

The faithless dealings of Rome with Carthage.

We are told that, when the Carthaginians made preparations to reduce Sardinia, the Romans pretended to be under terrible apprehensions of their power, as though these preparations had been intended to subvert their republic; and therefore from hence declared war against them. This fact plainly demonstrates that the Romans at that time were determined to embrace every method of gratifying their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that induced them to act in a friendly manner towards Carthage, when that state was in danger of being ruined by its rebellious subjects, were undoubtedly far different from the specious pretext they offered to impose upon the world. They probably considered, that, if the Carthaginians were reduced to the last gasp by the Barbarians, with whom they were engaged in war, they would, by a little kindness, be induced to submit to them at so critical a conjuncture. That the friendly offices the Romans did the Carthaginians in the time of their great distress were the result of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous sentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their subsequent conduct, but even from several hints of their own prejudiced historians^k.

Hamilcar marches into Spain.

Hamilcar, by the happy conclusion of the Libyan war, not only restored tranquility to the republic, but greatly extended the Carthaginian conquests in Africa. Finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with Rome, he formed a scheme to place it upon a level with that impetuous republic; which was, to make an entire conquest of Spain, that the Carthaginians might have troops capable of opposing the Romans. In order to faci-

¹ Polyb. lib. II. cap. 12. Appian. in Iberia. sub init. * Polyb. lib. II. cap. 12.

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litate the execution of this scheme, he inspired both his son-in-law Asdrubal and his son Hannibal with an implacable aversion to the Romans, the inveterate enemies of his and his country's grandeur. Asdrubal did not live to be a scourge to the Romans; but Hannibal brought that proud nation to the very brink of destruction. Immediately after the troubles in Africa were appeased, the senate sent Hamilcar upon an expedition against the Numidians; a circumstance which renders it probable, that the Carthaginians had an intention to punish them for joining their discontented mercenaries. Hamilcar gave fresh proofs of his courage and abilities in this expedition, since, by his valour and conduct, he finished it so much to the satisfaction of the republic, that he was vested with the command of the army destined to act against Spain. Hannibal his son, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmost importunity, to attend him on this occasion, for that purpose employing all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender parent. Hamilcar granted his request; but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and swear, that he would be an irreconcilable enemy to the Romans, and act as such as soon as his age would permit. He likewise took with him Asdrubal; after he had bestowed his daughter in marriage upon that general. Nepos intimates, that he was forced to this step, because the censor took Asdrubal from him, upon a report, that he was more familiar with that youth than was consistent with virtue and decency. However, that biographer at the same time treats this report as a calumny, and tells us, that, by the Carthaginian laws, it was not permitted any person to separate the son-in-law from the father-in-law. The military preparations being completed, Hamilcar advanced with a powerful army to Abyla (K), and crossing the straits of Hercules, landed in Spain without opposition. He began the operations by incursions into the enemy's country, fixing his head-quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquisitions in Spain. According to Appian and Polybius, he had two views in this war; first, to enable Carthage to revenge the indignities received from the Romans; and, secondly, to have a pretext for being absent from home,

(K) Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African side, is opposite to the other in Spain called Calpe. They are both considerable mountains,

have a narrow sea between them, called anciently Eretum Herculeum, the Straits of Hercules; but, by the moderns, the Straits of Gibraltar.

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*and after
many gallant actions
is killed there.*

the Carthaginian state being at that time miserably distract-
ed by two potent factions, over one of which presided Han-
no, Hamilcar's inveterate enemy. However, by the great
success he met with, and the reputation he had already
acquired, he animated his friends at home, enabling them
to carry every point, and would undoubtedly have come
soon to hostilities with the Romans, had not death pre-
vented his design from taking effect¹.

He commanded in Spain nine years, and during that in-
terval subdued many warlike nations. In the course of so
long a war, considering how rich a country Spain was, an
immense quantity of treasure must necessarily have fallen into
his hands. This he distributed in the most politic manner,
partly amongst the troops, and partly amongst the great
men at Carthage; by which means he secured his interest
with both those powerful bodies. We have received no par-
ticular detail of the actions he was concerned in during that
term to be depended upon, only an account of the battle in
which he fell. The Vettones or Vectones, a nation of Lu-
sitania, incensed at the devastations committed in their
country by the Carthaginians, assembled all their forces,
with an intention to give Hamilcar battle. They were joined
by many other petty nations, commanded by their dif-
ferent reguli, who had been plundered and laid under con-
tribution in the same manner. To compass their end they
made use of the following stratagem: they sent before them
a vast number of waggons filled with fascines, pitch, sul-
phur, and other combustible materials, drawn by oxen, their
troops following under arms, and marching in order of bat-
tle. The Carthaginians at first ridiculed this seemingly arti-
less stratagem; but at last the Spaniards, upon their ap-
proaching Hamilcar, set fire to these vehicles, driving the
beasts amongst the enemy, who soon found themselves oblig-
ed to quit their ranks. The Vettones and their allies ob-
serving their confusion, charged them with such bravery,
that they put them to flight, killing many upon the spot,
amongst whom was the general himself. This relation we
have extracted from Appian, Nepos, Frontinus, and Zona-
ras; but must own that most, if not all, the circumstances
of it are omitted by Polybius. That excellent historian only
says in general, that Hamilcar came to an end worthy his
exalted character, dying gloriously in the field of battle at
the head of his troops. Upon Hamilcar's death the army

¹ Appian, in Iberic. Polyb. lib. iii. & Liv. ubi supra. Vide Corn.
Nep. Auct. Vip. Eutrop. &c. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 3. Flor. lib.
xi. cap. 5.

elected his son-in-law Asdrubal, then the Carthaginian admiral, to succeed him in the command ^m.

The senate, after they had confirmed the choice the army had made of a general, sent Asdrubal a strong reinforcement of troops, to enable him not only to preserve but to extend their conquests. As the new general had been trained up in the art of war by Hamilcar, under whom he had served several campaigns, the people in general entertained a high idea of him, though Hanno and his adherents affected to depreciate his merit. Asdrubal answered their expectations, behaving with such wisdom and address as enabled him to support Hamilcar's friends both at Carthage and in the army. To secure his predecessor's acquisitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbours, its fortifications, and immense wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the most considerable cities in the world; some people at that time called it the New City, others Carthage: it is known at this day by the name of Carthagena, from whence one of the principal fortresses of the Spaniards in the West-Indies at present is so called ⁿ.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the great progress the Carthaginians made in Spain, kept a watchful eye upon them. They imagined that both Hamilcar and Asdrubal had something more grand in view than the reduction of Spain, and had formed a remote design, extensive in its nature, which they proposed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loss to find out whom this must be leveled at, easily discovering, that their republic was, of all other states, the most diametrically opposite in point of views and interest to that of the Carthaginians. As they took it for granted that their rivals never lost sight of their grand scheme, though the execution of it might be at some distance, they reproached themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy; for the Carthaginians now, with the utmost rapidity, pushed on their conquests in Spain, which might one day be turned against the Romans. They however, at this juncture, seemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them, on account of the apprehensions they were under of an invasion from the Gauls, who, according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the gates of Rome. At present therefore they judged it expedient to have re-

*The great
progress of
Asdrubal
in Spain i.
checked by
the Ro-
mans.*

^m Liv. Polyb. Diod. Sic. Appian. Corn. Nep. Extr. Frontin. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. . . . ⁿ Liv. Polyb. Diod. Sic. & Appian. ubi supra.

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Yr. of Fl. by persuasion, prevailed upon Asdrubal to conclude a new
 213. treaty with them, importing, 1. That the Carthaginians
Ante Chr. should not pass the Iberus. 2. That Saguntum, a colony
 216. of Zæcynthians, and a city between the Iberus and that part
 of Spain subject to the Carthaginians, as well as the other
 Greek colonies, should enjoy their ancient rights and privi-
 leges. The Saguntines afforded the Romans a pretext for
 this interposition, as they implored the protection of Rome;
 which republic they heard was superior in power to that of
 Carthage. Zonaras intimates, that about this time the Car-
 thaginians had formed a design of attacking the Romans,
 but were by that people intimidated from putting their de-
 sign in execution. Asdrubal did not pass beyond the limits
 stipulated by the treaty, though he still pushed on his con-
 quests, and subdued all that part of Spain extending from
 the western ocean to the Iberus, within five days journey
 of the Pyrenees. He made it his endeavour to render himself
 popular amongst the reguli of Spain by his engaging address
 and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unsuc-
 cessful; for by his persuasive methods he brought them over
 to the interest of Carthage. He did not fail, however, ex-
 ercising himself sometimes in a military way, though the other
 was in general the most effectual. Having governed the
 Carthaginian dominions in Spain eight years, he was trea-
 cherously murdered by a Gaul, whose master he had put to
 death. The murder was perpetrated in public: the assassin
 being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed
 such satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his
 revenge, that he seemed insensible of torment. This acci-
 dent, however, notwithstanding the youth of Hannibal, oc-
 casioned no alteration in the state of affairs.

**Asdrubal
 sends for
 Hannibal.** Asdrubal, three years before his death, had written to
 Carthage, to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years
 of age, might be sent to him. Amno, the inveterate enemy
 of the Barcinian family, opposed this request with all his
 power, in a speech to the senate. "Asdrubal (said he) ac-
 companied Hamilcar in his expeditions, spent the flower of
 his youth with him, and was abused by him; and now he
 would have young Hannibal in the same manner subervient
 to his lust. This young man inherits all the pride and ar-
 bitrary disposition of the Barcinian family. Instead of put-
 ting him at the head of the army, where he will be in some
 measure master of all our properties, he ought to be kept
 under the eye of the magistrates and the power of the laws.

Idem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 19.

Hence

Hence he will learn obedience, and a humility which will teach him to look upon himself as on a level with other men." He concluded with observing, that this spark might one day rise to a conflagration, which would occasion the ruin of the republic. However, the Barciniat faction prevailed, and Hannibal was sent to the army in Spain.

Hannibal, upon his first arrival in the camp, discovered indications of extraordinary courage and greatness of mind. He drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father survive in him. From his first appearance in the army, every one perceived that he meditated a war against the Romans, which was considered as the effect of his father's disposition. The great resemblance he bore to Hamilcar rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. Every talent and qualification he seemed to possess, that can contribute towards forming the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. These qualities rendered him the darling both of the officers and soldiers. Under Asdrubal he made three campaigns: that general always employed him in enterprizes of the greatest importance, thinking him the best qualified for the execution of important designs. The soldiers likewise reposed the utmost confidence in him, esteeming him superior to all the other commanders in conduct and personal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty-third year of his age. In short, after Asdrubal's death, the army immediately saluted him general, with the highest demonstrations of joy, and the sincerest attachment to his person. The senate also, as well as people of Carthage, confirmed this election; though it must be owned Hanno and his faction were secretly averse to his promotion. He had no sooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, than he made the proper dispositions for prosecuting the war with vigour, having the satisfaction to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he proposed.

As the suffrages both of the army and republic concurred to raise Hannibal to the supreme command, upon the death of Asdrubal, he must have been extremely popular at Carthage. It is therefore probable that, about the time of his being elected general, or soon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the first dignity of the

*Hannibal
very popu-
lar among
the troops.*

*Elected ge-
neral after
the death
of Asar-
bal.*

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state, that of one of the suffetes, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. In support of this opinion, Cornelius Nepos informs us, that Hannibal was chosen praetor of Carthage, upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, twenty-two years after he had been nominated king in that city; which brings that event pretty near the period we are now upon.

Hannibal
conquers
the Ol-
cades,

Hannibal had no sooner assumed the command of the forces, than he put himself in motion. As if Italy had been the province allotted him, and he had been appointed to make war upon the Romans, he secretly turned his whole views to that country. Though he was determined to attack Saguntum, he thought it at present more expedient not to seem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce some provinces that would facilitate the conquest of it: nor did he think that the Romans could from thence penetrate his designs. Accordingly he marched against the Olcades, a nation seated near the Iberus, and soon reduced Althæa, their capital; upon which their other towns immediately submitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he distributed amongst the troops, and then retired to New Carthage, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he soon after paid the army all their arrears; a circumstance which so endeared him to the soldiers, that he had them absolutely at his devotion. This first instance of success rendered his name terrible to the neighbouring nations of Spain, who were not in a state of amity with Carthage's.

and the
Vaccæi.

The next campaign opened with the siege of Hermandica, which he reduced before he advanced to Arbacala, which being a place of great strength, very populous, and defended by a numerous garrison, made a vigorous resistance & but was at last forced to surrender. Soon after this event, some fugitives, who had made their escape out of Hermandica, joining a body of the Olcades, excited the Carpetani, one of the most powerful nations in Spain, to declare against the Carthaginians. Their army amounted to a hundred thousand fighting men, with which they proposed to attack Hannibal in his return from the country of the Vaccæi, which it seems he subdued this campaign, gradually drawing nearer the point he had in view.

Hannibal, being informed of the enemy's design, and knowing himself inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle. He encamped upon the banks of the Tages, his troops being fatigued with long marches, and loaded with

spoils. When the enemy were asleep, he passed the river in a place where it was most fordable. The Spaniards, interpreting this motion into a flight, immediately resolved to pursue him; and, in consequence of this resolution, threw themselves into the river, without order or discipline. Hannibal had foreseen what would happen, and disposed his army in a proper manner to attack them. The horse he ordered to guard the ford, on both sides, to a certain distance, and posted them in the water for that purpose. The shore was defended on his side by forty elephants, all placed in the first line; and behind them the Carthaginian infantry were drawn up in battalia. The Spanish foot, therefore, being obliged to fight in the water with horsemen, who were above, and flanked them, could make but a faint resistance; and even those who reached the opposite bank were immediately trodden under-foot by the elephants. Hannibal instantly repassed the ford, and fell upon the enemy's troops, which were easily routed. Great numbers of the Spaniards were either cut to pieces or drowned. Hannibal, after this victory, desolated the whole country of the Carpetani, who, terrified by so great a defeat, thought proper to submit to the conqueror. Nothing now remained but Saguntum, to give any obstruction to the Carthaginian arms.

Yr. of Fl.
2142.
Ante Chr
206.

*He gives
the Spa-
niards a
great over-
throw, and
subdues the
Carpetani.*

The general, however, thought the season was not yet arrived for laying siege to that city; and, therefore, did not, for some time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occasion a rupture with the Romans. His intention was, to furnish himself with all things necessary, before he entered upon the important enterprise he had formed: but, at last, he pushed his conquests to the very gates of Saguntum, and by his singular address, took care to secure these conquests, before he gave the Romans an opportunity of declaring war against the Carthaginians.

*And medi-
rates the
siege of Sa-
guntum.*

In the mean time the Saguntines, being greatly alarmed at the rapid progress of Hannibal's arms, did not know how to avoid the impending storm; any otherwise than by applying to the Romans for speedy relief. They therefore dispatched deputies to Rome, to inform the senate of Hannibal's success in Spain, and to desire immediate succours against him. What kind of reception they met with, has been already related in the Roman history.

*The Sagun-
tines apply
to the Ro-
mans for
relief.*

In the mean time Hannibal found means to embroil some of the neighbouring cantons, especially the Turdetani; or, according to Appian, the Tarboletae, with the Saguntines. This step he took, in order to furnish himself with a pretext to attack their capital city. He promised himself many advantages from the seduction of that place. He was con-

*Hannibal
besieges Sa-
guntum.*

vinced, that it would deprive the Romans of all means of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conquest would serve as a barrier to the places already subdued; that no enemy would be left behind him; and that he should obtain treasure sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the Romans. He also considered, that the plunder of the city would inspire his troops with greater ardour, and even bring the people of Carthage themselves over entirely to his measures. These considerations excited him to undertake the siege of Saguntum, and make an effort to carry the place before the Romans could take any step towards its relief¹.

S E C T. VII.

The History of the Carthaginians, from the Beginning of the second Punic War, to the Reduction of Capua by Hannibal.

the remote causes of the second Punic war.

THE consul Lutatius, at the conclusion of the first Punic war, behaved with great insolence to Hamilcar Barcas. He insisted, that the Carthaginian troops, under his command, should deliver up their arms to the Romans, and even pass under the jugum. This rigour inspired the Carthaginian general with an irreconcilable enmity to the Romans. Nothing could have been more inconsistent with true magnanimity and greatness of soul, than such a conduct, and consequently more disagreeable to a person of heroic and generous sentiments. Hamilcar therefore deeply resented an insult so atrocious in its nature, and detested the people by whom it was countenanced.

He likewise condemned himself for having so tamely given up Sicily to the Romans: he reflected, with the utmost regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he considered as dishonourable and precipitate. This reflection undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which had been the source of his disgrace, and consequently determined him to embrace the first opportunity of attacking the Romans².

But what the most effectually contributed to the war we are going to enter upon, was the injustice of the Romans, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the Carthaginians, after the conclusion of the Libyan war, dispossessed that nation of Sardinia, and extorted from them a great sum

¹ Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup., Oros. ubi sup. cap. 14. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 7. ² Polyb. lib. iii. Liv. xxi. sub init.

of money¹. The success of the Carthaginians in Spain likewise increased the animosity betwixt the two states, and consequently disposed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore of a bloody contest betwixt them was laid before the siege of Saguntum.

The Saguntines were a colony, partly of the Zacynthians, and partly of the Rutuli from the city of Ardea. They soon grew immensely rich, the province in which they were seated being extremely fertile. Their city was situated on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, about a mile from the sea, near a ridge of mountains, which separated Spain from Celtiberia, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the Carthaginians were permitted to make war, though this city was expressly excepted from all hostilities. As soon as Hannibal approached their frontiers, he detached a party to ravage the adjacent territory, and then made a disposition to attack Saguntum in three places at once. With his battering-engines he attempted to beat down the wall, whilst his troops were kept in readiness to storm the city, when the breach became practicable. The Saguntines defended themselves with inexpressible bravery, making frequent sallies upon the besiegers, and destroying abundance of their men. But the assailants were scarce sensible of this loss, Hannibal's army consisting of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The besieged however suffered extremely in these actions, losing as many soldiers as the Carthaginians; a circumstance which rendered their condition almost desperate. But their fate was for some time respite, by a wound Hannibal received in his thigh from a dart, as he was reconnoitring some of the works. This occasioned such a consternation amongst his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themselves masters of all his military machines. Till the wound was cured, a kind of cessation of arms took place, though the besiegers still maintained their posts, carried on their approaches, and completed their works. After Hannibal's recovery, hostilities recommenced with double fury, the Saguntines opposing the enemy with undaunted resolution, and Hannibal pushing on his attacks with the utmost vigour. At last the besiegers, after having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demolished three towers, by which the body of the place lay entirely exposed, made an assault with unparalleled bravery. The besieged, on the other hand, confideing, that every thing valuable to them lay at stake, exerted themselves in an extraordinary

*The Car-
thaginians
repulsed by
the Sagun-
tines.*

¹ Val. Max. lib. ix. cap.

The History of the Carthaginians.

manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the space betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and disputed every inch of ground with such resolution, that the place where the engagement ensued was covered with dead bodies. In short, hope and despair so animated the contending parties, that the greatest efforts were made on each side. However, at last despair prevailed, the Saguntines forcing the Carthaginians not only to abandon the breach, but to take refuge in their camp. Livy says, that a kind of dart or missile weapon, called falarica (L), was of singular service to the Saguntines on this occasion ^a.

the Romans expell the Carthaginians. It appears from Zonaras and other historians, that, in pursuance of the resolution above-mentioned, the Romans sent deputies to Hannibal at his camp before Saguntum. According to these authors, Hannibal avoided giving them audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain Spaniards, in whom he could confide, to meet the Roman ministers at some distance from his camp. They were instructed to accost the Romans as friends, and to inform them, that it would be dangerous to approach the Carthaginian army, upon account of the barbarous nations of which it was composed. Livy and Polybius do not entirely agree in this point; but we shall not take upon us to determine which of them has truth on his side ^b.

After the late repulse, Hannibal, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for some days in a state of in-

annibal arrives on istyle the gue of saguntum:

^a Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 7. Sil. Ital. lib. i. Plut. & Aus. Vict. in Hannib. ^b Diod. Sic. lib. xxv. in Excerpt. Rhedoman. & Herschel. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 22. Paul. Orol. lib. iv. cap. 14. Eutrop. ubi sup.

(L) The falarica was a kind of dart, discharged by the parties posted in wooden towers, upon the enemy. These wooden towers were called *casas*; so that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from those machines. Towards the end, it had a square piece of iron, bound about with tow, besmeared with pitch. The iron head, resembling that of the Roman pilum or javelin, was three feet long, that it might be capable of penetrating the strongest armour, and, through it, of doing execution. As the combustible part of it was set on fire before it was discharged upon the enemy, and this fire must have been greatly increased by the air fanning it in its motion, it could not fail to do mischief, and strike terror. This dart was sometimes discharged out of the ballista with an inconceivable force, and did not only destroy men, but likewise frequently consumed the enemies wooden towers, at which it was levelled (¹).

⁽¹⁾ Liv. lib. xxi. ap. Felt. in Voc. Falarica.

action, but posted guards to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, he endeavoured to raise their courage, by inspiring them with a detestation of the Saguntines; by promising them great rewards, if they did their duty; and lastly, by assuring them of the plunder of the place, in case it should be taken by storm. The garrison likewise kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to erect a new wall opposite to the breach the Carthaginians had made. Hannibal's troops, animated by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the town, made a vigorous attack, being encouraged by their general, who had placed himself on the top of a moveable tower, which overlooked the works of the besieged, and the whole city. In short, Hannibal, having cleared the breach of the soldiers posted for its defence, and demolished the new wall, by the assistance of five hundred Africans appointed to undermine it, entered the town without opposition. Then he possessed himself of an eminence near the citadel, round which he drew a line of circumvallation. The Saguntines however did all that could be expected from men animated by despair. They built a new wall to support that part of the city, which the enemy had not yet made themselves masters of; they disputed every inch of ground with the utmost bravery; and repulsed the besiegers in many attacks. However, being in want of provisions, they found themselves reduced to great extremities, especially as they had no prospect of foreign assistance, the Romans seeming to have entirely deserted them. About this time, Hannibal undertook an expedition against the Carpetani and Oretani; who shewed a disposition to shake off the Carthaginian yoke. The besieged, however, did not reap any great advantages from this diversion, since Maherbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal left to command the forces before Saguntum in his absence, pushed on the siege with unremitting vigour. He battered the new wall with his rams, and made a large breach in it. Hannibal therefore, upon his return, immediately stormed the citadel. After a warm dispute, he possessed himself of one part of it; the Saguntines, with great difficulty, maintaining themselves in the other.

Whilst affairs were in this melancholy situation, Alcon, *and takes* a Saguntine, went privately by night to the Carthaginian camp. Here, by his tears and supplications, he endeavoured to move Hannibal's compassion towards the unhappy citizens of Saguntum. He could however make no impression upon that general. The conditions he insisted upon were; that they should give ample satisfaction to the Tur-

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Turdetani; that they should deliver up all their wealth to the Carthaginians; and that they should retire, with only the cloths they wore, to the place the Carthaginians should assign for their habitation. These conditions appeared so intolerable to Alcon, that he durst not propose them to the garrison of Saguntum; and therefore remained in Hannibal's camp. But Aloreus, a Spaniard, then in the Carthaginian service, undertook to convey the Carthaginian general's proposals to the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. This task he performed, endeavouring at the same time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them. But they were so harsh, that the Saguntines rejected them with disdain. Thus driven to despair, the senators brought all their gold, silver, and precious effects, into the market-place, and causing a great fire to be kindled, threw their treasure and themselves into the flames. At the same time a tower, which had been battered by Hannibal's rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. Livy relates, that great numbers of the Saguntines, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred*. According to Frontinus, Hannibal, by a stratagem, drew the garrison out of the town, and put them all to the sword.

Yr. of Fl.
a 143.
Ante Chr.
205.

*The Ro-
mans send
fresh am-
bassadors to
Carthage.*

Intelligence of the taking of Saguntum had scarce reached Carthage, when ambassadors arrived from Rome, demanding of the senate and people, whether the Spanish expedition had been undertaken by their order, or Hannibal, contrary to their approbation, had been the sole author of that invasion. One of the Carthaginian senators, by order of the senate, endeavoured to vindicate Hannibal's conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occasion. He made very slight mention of the last treaty Asdrubal had concluded with the Romans, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the Carthaginians by the consul Lutatius after the battle off the islands *Ægades*. He insisted, that as the senate and people of Rome had taken the liberty to insert some additional articles in that treaty, so the Carthaginian senate and people had an equal right to make what alterations they thought proper in that which Asdrubal had concluded with the Romans. He farther acquainted them, that the Carthaginians were not strangers to the ambitious designs of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as soon

* Polyb. Liv. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 10. Corn. Nep. in Hannibal.

as they pleased, without giving any concern or uneasiness to his state. In short, he assured them, that the senate and people, notwithstanding the efforts of Hanno and his faction, were of the same sentiments with Hannibal, in relation to the affair of Saguntum, and entirely approved of his conduct. Upon which Q. Fabius, the senior of the embassy, declared war against the Carthaginians, in the manner already related by us in a former part of this work.

Appian intimates, that Hannibal, in order to provide for his own safety, was obliged to attack the Saguntines, and proceed to hostilities with the Romans. Notwithstanding this war, *Hannibal undertakes this war.* he was elected general by the army after the death of Afdrubal, and had his election confirmed by the senate and people of Carthage, yet, according to this author, Hanno's faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inspire the giddy populace with sentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked suggestions of that faction beginning in a short time to operate, apprised him of it, that he might exert himself, in order to promote their interest, and consequently his own. These intrigues Hannibal had foreseen; and, being sensible that, whatever attacks seemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended against him, he thought that the only expedient to prevent civil dissensions, and hinder Hanno's insinuations from making any impression upon the minds of the populace to his disadvantage, would be to enter upon a war with Rome. An enterprize of such importance, he very well knew, would engage the public attention, and of course greatly contribute towards stifling the cabals and schemes that might have been formed against him, especially as the generality, both of the senate and people, were eagerly bent upon such a war. Besides, the fears and anxieties arising in their minds for the success of an Italian expedition, would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. Appian mentions this as one of the motives that induced Hannibal to besiege Saguntum; which may possibly be true: but we must own, that neither Polybius nor Livy take any notice of it. That another motive, as the first author relates, was a desire to immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who consider the genius of that general, as described by the best writers: but whatever might urge him to the siege above mentioned, he met with a courage and resolution in the Saguntines worthy of himself. After a most gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related; the very women from the ramparts, with astonishing intrepidity, beholding the slaughter of their husbands and relations, and massacring all the children that had

had escaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some writers insinuate, that, before the last sally, the Saguntines melted lead with their gold and silver, imagining that such a mixed mass could not be of any great service to the Carthaginians. The Carthaginian general did not think proper to destroy the city, but transplanted thither a colony from Carthage. Thus the Saguntines, after a siege of eight months, fell a sacrifice to Hannibal's resentment, being marked out for destruction, for their singular fidelity and attachment to the Romans^y.

The Romans attempt to draw the Spaniards off from the Carthaginian interest.

The Carthaginians, or at least the Barcinian faction, received the Roman declaration of war from Fabius with marks of joy and acclamation. They assured him they would carry it on with the utmost vigour and alacrity, and make every effort to revenge the repeated extortions, the sinister designs, the unjust invasions, and the haughty behaviour of his republic. In consequence of this step, Fabius and his companions returned, taking Spain in their way, as they had been ordered by the senate. Upon their arrival in that country, they endeavoured to draw the Spaniards who were subject to Carthage from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that state from its interest, and to enter into an alliance with as many of the Spanish nations as were disposed to accept either the friendship or protection of the Roman republic. The Bargusii, being desirous of shaking off the Carthaginian yoke, gave the Roman ambassadors a kind reception; which influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this success was not lasting; for the Volsciani, upon Fabius's application to them, made him this severe reply: "With what face can you, Romans, offer to solicit us to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, since your treachery to the brave Saguntines, who were your allies, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy ~~who~~ destroyed them? Seek for allies where the fate of Saguntum is not known: the destruction of that city will serve for a perpetual lesson to the people of Spain, to take care how they ever repose any confidence in the Romans." The ambassadors, being commanded to leave the territories of the Volsciani, found themselves obliged to retire from Spain, without accomplishing their design. Neither did they meet with greater success in Gaul; for, when they desired the Gauls to refuse the Carthaginians a passage through their country into Italy, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their request. Hannibal

^y Diod. Sic. lib. xxv. in Excerpt. Rhodoman. Hoeschel. Appian. in Iberic. Vide & Polyb. Liv. Zonar. ubi supra. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 7. Plut. in Hannib. Petron. Arbit. in Satyric.

had

had before prepossessed them in favour of the Carthaginians; a task which he found no difficulty in performing, they having, on various accounts, conceived an aversion to the Romans².

After the reduction of Saguntum, Hannibal put his African troops into winter-quarters at New Carthage; but permitted the Spaniards, in order to gain their affection, to retire to their respective habitations. During the winter, he remained in a state of inaction; but made several very wise regulations for the security of the Carthaginian dominions both in Spain and Africa. He transported into Africa, for the defence of that country, a body of Spaniards, consisting of Thersitæ, Mastiani, and Olcades, amounting to twelve hundred horse, and thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot; to which were added some companies raised in the Balearic islands. These he placed chiefly in the provinces of Metagonium, and city of Carthage. He posted four thousand Metagonitæ likewise in Carthage, not only to defend that metropolis, but likewise to serve as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. The African corps, destined to act in Spain under the command of Asdrubal, was composed of four hundred and fifty African and Libyphoenician cavalry, eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Massylian, Massælylian, Macian, and Mauritania foot, besides three hundred Lorgitæ, eighteen hundred Numidians, three hundred Ligurians, five hundred Balearic slingers, and above twenty elephants. These particulars, Polybius tells us, he extracted from some tables or records of copper, engraved by Hannibal himself when in Italy, and deposited at Lacinium. After such a prudent disposition, which had a natural tendency to render both Spain and Africa entirely dependent on Carthage, as well as more closely to cement the people of those countries by mutual bonds of friendship, he made the necessary preparations to pass the Iberus: but before he attempted this passage, he judged it expedient to gain the Cisalpine Gauls over to his interest, that he might not only have a free route through their country, but likewise receive a reinforcement from that people. This scheme being effected; partly by distributing some gold amongst their chiefs, and partly by heightening their aversion to the Romans. Having received intelligence, that the Gauls were ready to join him, after having made his vows to Hercules, at Gades, for the success of his expedition, he immediately prepared for action.

Hannibal
puts both
Spain and
Africa into
a posture
of defence.

² Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi supr.

*His re-
markable
dreams*

Having completed his military preparations, and got every thing in readiness for the intended expedition, he moved early in the spring; out of his winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to Etoiffa, and from thence to the Iberus. Here he is said to have been encouraged by dreams and omens to prosecute his enterprize. Upon his passing the river, several beasts, of a species entirely unknown, likewise appeared, seeming to shew the way to his troops. The Romans, about the same time, were as greatly dispirited by bad omens, as Hannibal found himself animated by happy presages. An ox spoke audibly with a human voice at Rome, just before the commencement of this war. Another threw itself from the top of a house into the Tiber, and was drowned, during the public diversions. Many places were struck with lightning. Blood flowed from several statues, and from the shield of one of the legionaries. And lastly, a wolf carried off a sword out of the camp ^a. Such portents have always distinguished the times of ignorance and superstition, and been often rendered subservient to the purposes of ambition and imposture.

*He passes
the Iberus*

Before Hannibal began the operations of the campaign, he thought it incumbent on him to inspire life and vigour into the soldiery. Nothing but that spirit was now wanting, since the senate and people of Carthage, at the instigation of Asdrubal, had given him an unlimited commission, which left him full power to act as he should think proper for the good of the republic. In an oration to his army, he descended upon the insolence of the Romans, who, he told them, had insisted upon his being delivered up to them, with all the general officers. He expatiated upon the wealth of Italy, which he represented as one of the most delightful countries on the face of the earth; and assured them that he had just concluded a treaty with the Cisalpine Gauls, who had engaged to join him with a considerable reinforcement, and supply him with provisions and all necessaries on his march. The soldiers, animated by this speech, loudly proclaimed their confidence in his conduct, and declared that they would follow him wherever he should think proper to lead the way. Finding it therefore time to enter upon action, he reviewed his army, consisting of ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides a number of elephants; and then, without the least obstruction, passed the Iberus ^b.

The Iergetes and Bargusii were the first cantons he obliged to submit to the Carthaginians, and soon after he reduced

^a Liv. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 22. Val. Maxim. lib. i. cap. 7. ^b Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi supra.

*and sub-
dues all the
nations be-
twixt that
river and
the Pyre-
nees.*

the Aerenosi and Ausetani, people whose territories extended to the Pyrenees. Nevertheless, as he took several towns by force, these conquests cost him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march, he constituted Hanno governor of the country betwixt the Pyrenees and the Iberus, which included the territory of the Bargusii, enjoining him to keep a watchful eye on that people. Their former conduct gave him reason to suspect, that still they were secretly attached to the Romans. To support Hanno in his new post, he left him a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. In order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, he dismissed the like number of them to their respective habitations, and gave the greatest encouragement to those that continued in the Carthaginian service. This plan of conduct he pursued, that he might be the more readily supplied with what recruits he should want in Italy. Upon a muster of his forces, after they were weakened by sieges, desertion, and mortality, he found them to amount to fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, all veteran troops. As they had left all their heavy baggage with Hanno, and were light-armed, Hannibal easily crossed the Pyrenees, passed by Ruscino, a frontier town of the Gauls, and arrived on the banks of the Rhone without opposition ^c.

For some time however he was retarded in his march by the jealousy of the Gauls. That nation, hearing that the Carthaginian army, then encamped at Illiberis, a city of Gallia Narbonensis, had reduced the country immediately beyond the Pyrenees, and left strong garrisons to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement suspicions of Hannibal: but upon his decamping speedily from Illiberis, giving them the strongest assurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few presents to their reguli, they permitted him to continue his route. Upon his approaching the banks of the Rhone, the greatest part of the Volcae (M), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the opposite bank, the other neighbouring Gauls being his friends, and giving him all the assistance in their power. The Gauls on the other side,

*He advances to
the Rhone,
and passes
it.*

^c Liv. & Polyb. ubi supra.

(M) The Volcae, or Volcæ, but had no possessions on the Aricomici, according to Strabo, other, as Livy here asserts, were a nation that inhabited the Nemausus, the Nismæs of the country contiguous to one side moderns, was their capital (1). of the Rhodanus, or the Rhone;

(1) Strabo, lib. iii. p. 129. Mel. Vill. & Ptole. in Gal.

taking umbrage at the approach of so formidable a power, had assembled all their forces, with an intent to dispute the passage of the river. Hannibal finding it nowhere fordable in sight of the enemy, began to be in pain for the success of the expedition : but his good fortune still attending him, he at last carried his point by a stratagem, and dispersed the Gallic forces in the manner already related. After all, the greatest difficulty was, how to transport the elephants. Some affirm, the following expedient was used for this purpose : a float of timber two hundred feet long, and fifty broad, was launched into the river, quite covered with earth ; so that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From the first float they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only a hundred feet long, and fastened to the former by chains, that were easily loosened. The female elephants were placed upon the first float, and the males followed. As soon as they got upon the second float, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. It was then sent back to convey those which were left behind. Some elephants threw their guides, and plunged into the water ; but they at last got safe to shore ; so that, out of forty-eight, not one was drowned. Others say, that Hannibal ordered them to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fiercest of them, leaped into the river, and swam to the opposite side. The animal, being enraged, immediately rushed into the water after him with the utmost fury ; upon which all the rest followed. Hannibal spent five days in passing the river, though great numbers of the Gauls, by their assistance, facilitated his passage. The elephants were not wasted over, till the day after the defeat of the Gauls, who attempted to dispute his passage. These particulars, added to those already related in a former part of our history, compose an ample description of this remarkable achievement.⁴

Hannibal continues his march; Whilst the elephants were crossing over, Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse, to obtain intelligence of the enemy ; who, he was informed, approached the banks of the Rhone with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. These falling in with a party of three hundred Roman and Gallic horse, detached by Scipio upon the same design, a rencontre immediately ensued ; which, after a

⁴ Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 46, 47. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 31, 32. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 23. p. 409, 410.

brief dispute, terminated in favour of the Romans, though the loss was pretty equal on both sides. As Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the Roman detachment pursued his cavalry to the camp, Scipio was soon acquainted with the disposition of the Carthaginian army; which encouraged him to move with expedition towards Hannibal, in order to attack him. That general was, for some time, in doubt, whether he should engage the Romans, or continue his march for Italy; but was soon determined to proceed in his route, by the arrival of Magilus, a prince of the Boii, who brought rich presents with him, and offered to conduct the Carthaginians over the Alps. That his troops might bear the fatigues of so long and painful a march with the greater alacrity, Hannibal, the day before he began it, in the presence of them all, gave an audience to Magilus; who assured him by an interpreter, that his subjects ardently desired to see him. He farther assured him, that both they, and the neighbouring Gauls, were ready to join him upon his first arrival amongst them; that he himself would take care to conduct his army through places, where they should meet a plentiful supply of provisions; and that he would soon bring them safe into Italy. After that prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech, magnified extremely this deputation from the Boii; extolled the bravery which his forces had hitherto shewn; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers animated by his harangue, protested they were ready to execute all his orders. Nothing could happen more favourable to Hannibal's affairs than the arrival of Magilus, since there was no room to doubt the sincerity of his intentions: for the Boii bore an implacable hatred to the Romans, and had even come to an open rupture with them, when they found that Italy was threatened with an invasion from the Carthaginians.

For four days Hannibal continued his march, crossing through the middle of Gaul, and moving northwards, with his horse and elephants posted in the rear. This route he followed, in order to avoid Scipio, with whom he chose to decline an engagement, in pursuance of the advice given by Magilus. His design was to proceed with his army, without any diminution, into Italy. Advancing towards the country of the Allobroges, he found two brothers disputing about the sovereignty of a territory where he encamped. Brancus the elder was driven from his throne by the younger part of his subjects, who espoused his

*and arrives at
the foot of
the Alps.*

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younger brother's interest. Hannibal, being chosen arbiter of this dispute, reinstated Brancus in the possession of his dominions. That prince, from a sense of gratitude, supplied the Carthaginian troops with all the necessaries they wanted, particularly arms, their old armour being worn out by long service. He likewise escorted him through the countries of the Tricasti, Vocontii, and Tricorii, as far as the river Druentia, now the Durance; from whence he reached the foot of the Alps without opposition^f.

*He comes
to the sum-
mit of those
mountains.*

Most, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whose territories Hannibal was to pass, had a mortal aversion to the Romans: but as they were incapable of friendship or fidelity, he frequently found both himself and his army in the most imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to ascend the Alps, soon after his escort had left him. Of this transaction we have already given a particular account in the Roman history. Continuing his march to the summit of the Alps, he encountered many other difficulties. The height of these mountains, which seemed to touch the skies, covered with snow, and exhibiting scarce any thing to the eye but a few tottering cottages scattered on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks, not a little intimidated his troops. The meagre flocks almost perished with cold, and hairy savages, with fierce aspects, renewed also the terror which the distant prospect of this ridge of mountains had raised, and struck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the soldiery. Besides, the whole army was brought upon the verge of destruction by the perfidy of a Gallic nation; whose deputies, under the specious appearance of friends, persuaded Hannibal to commit himself to their conduct. But these faithless guides led him into a steep pass, out of which they thought it would be impossible for him to make his escape. However, Hannibal, by the wise disposition of his forces, as well as the assistance of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion, at last dispersed the enemy. After which adventure he surmounted all other difficulties, and the ninth day from his beginning the ascent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It must be observed, that Hannibal was in a great measure obliged to the elephants for his escaping all the disasters the enemy threatened him with; for wherever these huge animals appeared, the Gauls were struck with such terror, that they immedi-

^f Lit. & Polyb. ubi sup. Zonar. ubi sup.

ately

ately fled with precipitation, leaving the road clear for the Carthaginian general ^s.

Hannibal halted two days on the summit of the Alps, to refresh his wearied troops, which were greatly dispirited by the snow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the highest hills he gave them a prospect of the fruitful plains watered by the Po, the day before he decamped. He likewise pointed towards the place where Rome stood; which, he assured them, a battle or two would make them masters of, and consequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This prospect inspired them with such vigour, that they seemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone, and to think only of taking possession of that haughty city, whose conduct towards their state had been nothing but one continued series of insults since the conclusion of the Sicilian war ^b.

They therefore pursued their march; but the difficulty *Descends the Alps* and danger increased, in proportion as they approached nearer the end of the descent. We are told, that about this time Hannibal meditated a retreat; but from the genius of that general, as well as the whole tenour of his conduct, this conjecture seems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came at last to a path naturally very steep and craggy; which being rendered impracticable by the late falling of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand feet deep. In short, Hannibal found it would be impossible to accomplish his design, without cutting a way in the rock itself, through which his men, horses, and elephants might pass; and this, with immense labour, he effected. Approaching, therefore, gradually the Infubrian foot of the Alps, he detached some parties of his horse to forage, there appearing now some spots of pasture where the ground was not covered with snow. Livy informs us, that in order to open and enlarge the path, large trees were felled, and piled round the rock, after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out; so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, according to the same author, caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins, that were now cracked with the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass, in order that the descent might be easier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free

^s Aurel. Vict. in Hannib.

^b Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup.

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passage to the forces, baggage, and elephants. As Polybius has passed over in silence the use Hannibal made of vinegar on this occasion, many reject that incident as fabulous.

He arrives in Insubria. At length Hannibal gained the fruitful plains of Insubria, where, in reviewing his army he found, that in five months and a half's march (for so long was it since he had left New Carthage), he had lost by sickness, desertion, fatigue, and various engagements, thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. His army now amounted to no more than twenty-six thousand effective men. Above twenty thousand had perished since his departure from the Rhodanus. That we may have a more distinct idea of Hannibal's march, it will be proper to give the names and distances of some of the principal places through which that general passed in his way to Italy, transcribed from Polybius. From New Carthage to the Iberus were computed two thousand six hundred stadia; from the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separated Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo, sixteen hundred stadia; from Emporium to the banks of the Rhodanus, sixteen hundred stadia; from the Rhodanus to the Alps, fourteen hundred stadia; from the Alps to the plains of Insubria, twelve hundred stadia. In all eight thousand four hundred stadia, making much about a thousand English miles.¹

Takes Taurinum; Upon Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he for some time encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to allow his troops some rest, they having suffered extremely in their passage over the Alps. He first took care to refresh them, and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready to enter upon action. He then solicited the Taurini, who were at war with the Insubres, to enter into an alliance. Upon their refusal to conclude a treaty with him, he entered their territories in a hostile manner; and investing Taurinum, their capital city, after a siege of three days, took it by storm, putting all who made resistance to the sword. This severity struck the neighbouring Gauls with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion. By this first instance of success, he not only plentifully supplied his army with provisions, but was likewise strongly reinforced by great numbers of these Gauls, who engaged in the Carthaginian service. The rest of the Gauls would, in all probability, have followed their example, had they not been restrained by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal therefore thought his wisest course would be to march directly into their country, with-

¹ Polyb. viii. cap. p. 159. Strab. lib. ii.

out loss of time, and make such an attempt as might encourage those who shewed a disposition to join him, to put themselves under his protection ^k

In the mean time Hannibal received intelligence, that Scipio had passed the Po with his legions, and was advancing to give him battle. This report at first he could scarcely believe, thinking it impossible that he should return from Gaul to Italy, cross Etruria, pass the Po, and be ready to receive him in so short a time. What gave him this notion was an information from those he thought he could confide in, that the passage from Massilia to Etruria by sea was extremely difficult and tedious; and the way to the last place from the Alps, by land, almost impracticable. Scipio, on his side, was as much surprised at Hannibal's expeditious march and rapid progress. The news of his arrival in Italy, and the conquests he had already made, so alarmed the people at Rome, that they dispatched an express to Sempronius at Lilybaeum, to repair, with the utmost expedition, to the relief of his distressed country. Having received an account of the posture of affairs, he embarked immediately for Rome with the naval forces, leaving orders with the respective tribunes to assemble all the troops that could be spared out of their several garrisons. Then he fixed a day for them to rendezvous at Ariminum, a town situated near the coast of the Adriatic, on the edge of the plains watered by the Po on the south. Hannibal again harangued his soldiers: he reminded them of their glorious achievements, and of the great difficulties they had surmounted. He told them, the Romans had never yet engaged men actuated by despair, nor such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very heart of Italy. His own superiority to Scipio in military experience and exploits, he insinuated, they were not strangers to: he said they could not but be sensible, that he was almost born, at least educated, in his father Hamilcar's tent; that he was the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and what is still more, of the Alps themselves. From whence he concluded, that they would make themselves masters of Rome, and consequently of all the Roman acquisitions in Sicily, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their ancestors ^l.

In the mean time Scipio, advancing to the Ticius, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort, to defend it against the attempts of the enemy. It is not im-

*and ad-
vances to-
wards the
Romans.*

*He defeats
the Romans
near the
Ticinus;*

Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup.

^l Idem ibid.

probable that he called it Ticinum, after the name of the river; and that this was the original of the city of Pavia, which in the most ancient authors is called Ticinum. Whilst the Romans were employed in constructing this fort, Hannibal detached Maherbal, with a body of five hundred Numidian horse, to pillage the territories of those nations which were in alliance with Rome; but ordered him to spare the Gauls, and excite their chiefs to a revolt. The Roman army, having passed the Ticinus, advanced to a village five miles from the fort they had built, and encamped upon some heights, in sight of the Carthaginians. Hannibal, upon this motion, recalled the Numidian detachment under Maherbal, and made the proper dispositions to attack the enemy. Before the signal was given, he thought it requisite to animate his troops with fresh promises; then cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prayed Jupiter to dash to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them. This vow rendered his troops impatient to attack the enemy, especially as two ill omens had just filled their army with terror and consternation. In the first place a wolf had stolen into the Roman camp, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it; and secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the prætorium, or general's tent. However, Scipio advanced at the head of his forces into the plain, where Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle. Proceeding with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and posture of the enemy, he intercepted the Spanish and Numidian horse, commanded by Hannibal; upon which the fight immediately began. As this has been already described, we shall at present only observe, that it was very severe and bloody, victory continuing for a long time in suspense; that many troopers on both sides, in the heat of the action, dismounted, and fought on foot; but that at last the Numidians charged the Romans in the rear, routed them, and wounded the consul. This accident obliged the Romans, after having lost the greatest part of their army, to retreat with precipitation. The immediate consequence of which was, that Scipio repassed the Ticinus, though his legions were all entire. Hannibal afterwards advanced to the bridge, but found it broken down. It is agreed, that the Carthaginian owed this first victory to his superiority in cavalry, and the disposition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being more proper for such troops to

act in, than those large open plains lying between the Po and the Alps ^m.

Hannibal, having driven the enemy from the field, continued his march to the banks of the Po. Here he remained two days, before he could cross that river over a bridge of boats. Then he sent Mago, with the light Spanish horse, in pursuit of the enemy, who, having rallied their shattered forces, and repassed the Po, were encamped at Placentia. Hannibal, having concluded a treaty with several of the Gallic cantons, advanced a day's march beyond the Po, where Mago joined him. After this junction he led his army to Placentia, and offered the Romans battle; but this the consul thought proper to decline. He was terrified at the expedition of Hannibal's pursuit, and the ardor of the Carthaginian troops: in short, his men being intimidated by the desertion of a body of Gauls, he abandoned his fortified camp, passed the Trebia, and posted himself on an eminence near that river. Here he fortified his camp, and waited the arrival of his colleague with the forces from Sicily ⁿ.

Hannibal, informed of the consul's departure from Placentia, sent the Numidian horse to harass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them. The Numidians arrived upon the banks of the Trebia before the rear of the Romans had entirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival. Soon after, Hannibal coming up, encamped in sight of the Roman army, on the opposite bank. Here he soon learned the character of Sempronius, who had joined Scipio, and, during that general's disorder, had the sole command of the Roman forces. Sempronius being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of Scipio, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with Hannibal. To this measure he was farther excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Roman camp, whilst the Carthaginians enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence; for Hannibal had lately seized the principal Roman magazine at Clastidium. Both the city and magazine were betrayed by a Brundusian, for four hundred pieces of gold; which, though a very moderate sum for so important a conquest, as gold money was then a great curiosity in Italy, none having been yet coined by the Romans, corrupted the traitor. Hannibal incorporated the garrison among his troops, such lenity being at

*and pur-
sues them
as far as
the Trebia.*

^m Cogn. Nep. Flor. Aur. Vit. Oros. Zonar. ubi supra. ⁿ Idem ibid.

this furniture necessary, or at least politic, that those cities might not be terrified which were inclined to submit. This step induced both the Romans and the Cisalpine Gauls to believe, that the Carthaginian general was prudent as well as brave.

Hannibal, having discovered the true disposition of Sempronius, resolved soon to bring him to a general action. This purpose, by two stratagems, he effected, and gave him an entire defeat. The victory was owing to Hannibal's conduct, who out-generalled the consul, starved the Romans, prepared for them an ambuscade, refreshed his own men, and anointed their bodies with oil (N). Ten thousand of the enemy retired to Placentia, but the greatest part of the rest were either killed or taken prisoners. The Gauls, in the Carthaginian service, suffered severely in the action; but the Carthaginians sustained no considerable loss, except that of their horses and elephants, all of which last, but one, perished by the cold, and in the battle. These furious animals did, however, very considerable service: they broke into the enemy's uncovered battalions, both at the right and left; either trod the manipuli under foot, or dispersed them; and would have made a terrible slaughter, if the light-armed infantry had not driven them back by a kind of goads, with which they wounded them under their tails, the only place where their skins were penetrable. The Carthaginians pursued the routed enemy as far as the Trebia, but did not think proper to pass that river, on account of the excessive cold. Next night Scipio decamped, and retired likewise with great precipitation to Placentia.

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the Roman army, was their inferiority in horse: for the Carthaginian cavalry amounted to ten thousand, whereas that of the Romans did not exceed four thousand; and this body, small as it was, could not act with vigour, being soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's elephants. The horses could neither bear the sight nor smell of those monstrous animals, and therefore were terrified at their approach. Scipio undoubtedly had acquainted Sempronius with the dan-

⁹ Polyb. ubi sup. cap. 72. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 55. Appian de Bell. Hannib. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Frontin. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 5. &c. 23.

(N) We are told by the Roman authors, that the Carthaginians, at Hannibal's command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement be-

gan, making use of this expedient as a preservative against the cold, a vast quantity of snow having fallen the day before.

ger he was in from the enemy's superiority in horse, as he had lost the battle of Ticinus by the weakness of his cavalry, and urged this, among other circumstances, as a reason for him to decline an engagement: but Sempronius, being infatuated by rashness as well as ambition, was deaf to all salutary admonitions; and, in consequence of this infatuation, brought upon the Romans signal loss and disgrace^p.

The Carthaginians, upon Fabius's declaration of war, proposed to act by sea as well as land against the Romans and their allies; and, therefore, besides all their military preparations, fitted out twenty gallies, with a thousand soldiers on board, to ravage the coasts of Italy. The Carthaginian operations by sea.

Nine of these seized upon the islands of Lipari, and eight made a descent upon the island of Vulcana, the other three not being able to approach the shore. They likewise equipped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, to possess themselves of Lilybaeum. This last attempt, however, miscarried, the Carthaginians being defeated by the Romans, and losing seven of their vessels, together with seventeen hundred men taken prisoners, amongst whom were three Carthaginian noblemen. From the coast of Sicily Sempronius, with the Roman and Syracusean squadrons, sailed to Melita; which Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, surrendered. From Melita the consul steered his course to the island of Vulcana, thinking to meet with the Carthaginian fleet; but the Carthaginians had sailed to the coasts of Italy, and plundered the territory of the city of Vibo, threatening at the same time to attack that city itself. This expedition the consul being apprised of, when he returned to Sicily, and likewise receiving letters from Rome by an express, notifying to him Hannibal's arrival in Italy, with orders to return with all possible expedition, he found himself obliged to alter his measures. He immediately therefore dispatched Sextus Pomponius, with twenty-five great ships, to protect the coasts of Italy from the insults of the Carthaginian squadron, and hastened himself to Ariminum. From hence he proceeded to the Trebia, where he met with the misfortune already related^q.

Whilst Hannibal was pushing on his conquests in Italy, Hanno, who commanded in Spain, received intelligence that the Romans, under the command of Cneius Scipio, had advanced as far as the Iberus, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and the Pyrenees. Upon this advice Hanno assembled his forces, and marched to the city of Olisipo, where he encamped in sight of the Romans. The

The transactions in Spain this campaign.

^p Polyb. & Liv. ubi supra. ^q Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 17. Appian, in Libyc. Zonar. lib. viii, cap. 46.

vicinity of the two armies soon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were totally routed. Hanno himself was taken prisoner, together with Indibilis, a Spanish prince, devoted to the Carthaginians. Their camp was forced, six thousand slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. All the heavy baggage Hannibal left with Hanno before his departure for Italy fell a prey to the Romans; and many of the Spanish nations concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Scipio. However, this defeat did not discourage the Carthaginians; for Asdrubal, another Carthaginian commander, hearing that the Roman seamen and marines had dispersed themselves over the country, without order or discipline, immediately passed the Iberus with a body of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse; fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greatest part to the sword, pursuing the rest to their fleet. Nothing of consequence happened afterwards this campaign in Spain. Asdrubal took up his winter-quarters at New Carthage, as soon as he had finished this expedition; and the Romans established theirs at Tarraco, after Scipio had divided the booty gained from the Carthaginians by the late victory amongst his troops.

Hannibal's policy to win over to his interest the allies of the Romans.

Hannibal, after the action upon the Trebia, ordered the Numidians, Celtiberians, and Lusitanians, to make incursions into the Roman territories, where they committed great depredations. During this state of inaction he refreshed his troops, and took care to conciliate the affections of the Gauls as well as the allies of the Romans. He declared to the Gallic and Italian prisoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to restore them to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans. To confirm them in the idea he was desirous they should entertain of him, he dismissed them without demanding the least ransom.

He marches into Etruria;

During the winter Hannibal's troops were reinforced by a considerable body of Gauls, Ligurians, and Etruscans; who, for various reasons, abandoned the Romans. Hannibal however reposed no great trust in his auxiliaries, but rather entertained a suspicion of them; on which account he disguised himself this winter in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to pursue this conduct by the variety of languages he understood, amongst which Zonaras mentions the Latin. He found, that the most effectual way to secure himself, was to change the theatre of war and march into Etruria. This step he took after a brisk encounter with Sempronius, wherein many fell on both

sides, as we have already observed in a former part of this work^t.

Hannibal having crossed the Appennines and penetrated into Etruria, received intelligence that the new consul Flaminius lay encamped, with the Roman army, under the walls of Arretium. Pursuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himself of the Roman general's capacity and designs, as well as the course and situation of the country. As his troops had been greatly harassed by the late fatiguing march, he halted some time in the neighbourhood of Fæsulæ. Here he learned the true character of Flaminius; that he was a good orator, but entirely ignorant of the military art; in fine, that he was rash, proud, and of a fierce disposition. This intelligence gave Hannibal great encouragement, not doubting but he should soon be able to bring him to a battle. Hannibal, in the first step he took, says Polybius, acted like a wise commander, since it ought to be the principal study of a general to discover the genius of his antagonist. To inflame the impetuous spirit of Flaminius, the Carthaginian general advanced towards Arretium in his way to Rome, and leaving the Roman army behind him, destroyed all the country through which he moved with fire and sword. As that part of Etruria abounded with corn, cattle, all sorts of provision, with all the elegancies as well as necessaries of life, the Romans and their allies sustained an incredible loss on this occasion.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, even if Hannibal had lain still, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of Rome ravaged in so dreadful a manner, he lost all patience, thinking it would reflect the greatest dishonour upon him, should he permit Hannibal to continue his devastations with impunity, and even advance to the walls of Rome without opposition. He resolved therefore immediately to attack the Carthaginians; and so obstinately was he determined upon this measure, that when the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his colleague, he rushed from the council in a rage, giving orders to the army instantly to begin their march: "Yes, truly, (said he) we ought to sit still before the walls of Arretium, since this is our native country, and here are our habitations! We ought to let Hannibal escape out of our hands, and destroy all the country to

^t S. Jul. Frontin. lib. 4 cap. 25. ex. 28. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. cap. 5. Appian. in Hannib.

the very walls of Rome, with fire and sword! We ought by no means to move from hence till the conscript fathers send for C. Flaminius from Agretium, as they formerly did for Camillus from Veii!" He mounted his horse with such precipitation, that he fell from him; an accident which was considered as a bad omen. This, however, made no impression upon him. A messenger came to acquaint him, that the ensigns stuck so fast in the ground that the soldiers could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him, "Dost thou bring me a letter likewise (said he) from the senate, prohibiting me to act against the Carthaginians? Go tell them, they may dig the ensigns up, if their hands are so benumbed with fear that they cannot pull them out." Being certain of victory he immediately decamped, approaching Hannibal with the utmost temerity".

Yr. of Fl.

2144.

Ante Chr.

204.

Hannibal
defeats the
Romans at
the lake
Thrasy-
menus.

In the mean time Hannibal advanced towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasymenus on the right. At last, observing the disposition of the ground to be very convenient for his purpose, he put himself in a posture to receive Flaminius, who was rapidly approaching. The lake Thrasymenus, and the mountains of Cortona, form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with mountains of a considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill of difficult access. Upon this eminence Hannibal encamped with his Spanish and African troops, posting the Baleares and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in ambuscade, at the foot of the hills on the right side of the valley, and lining with the Gallic cavalry the left side of it, in such a manner that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. Hannibal, having thus in the night surrounded the valley with his forces, lay quiet, as though he had no intention to engage. This farther excited the consul to engage the Carthaginians as soon as possible; for which end he eagerly pursued them, that the following night he advanced to the valley, and entered it in the morning, moving with his vanguard at a small distance from the lake Thrasymenus. These dispositions brought on a general action, which ended in the total defeat of the consular army. Flaminius himself, with fifteen thousand men, fell on the field of battle. A great number of prisoners likewise were taken by the Carthaginians; and a body of six thousand men, who had fled to a town in Etruria, surrendered to Matherbal the next day at discretion. Hannibal lost only

^{viii}Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 75—78—82. Lie. lib. xxii. cap. 9. Appian.
de Bell. Hannib. Zonar. ubi supra. cap. 75.

fifteen hundred men on this occasion, most of whom were Gauls, though great numbers, both of his soldiers and the Romans, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded the strictest search to be made for the body of Flaminus, in order to give it an honourable interment, but it could not be found. He likewise solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers who had been slain in the action ; but was at a loss how to dispatch a courier to Carthage with an account of the glorious victory he had gained. All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the Romans at the lake Thrasymenus our readers will find in another place.

Hannibal, being informed that the consul Servilius had detached a body of four, or, according to Appian, eight thousand horse from Ariminum, to reinforce his colleague in Etruria, ordered Maherbal, with all the cavalry, and some of the infantry, to attack him. The Roman detachment consisted of chosen men, and was commanded by Centenius, a patrician. Maherbal had the good fortune to meet with him, and, after a short dispute, entirely defeated him. Two thousand of the Romans were killed upon the spot, the rest retiring to an eminence, where, being surrounded by Maherbal, they were obliged the next day to surrender at discretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake Thrasymenus, almost gave a finishing stroke to the Roman affairs. Appian relates, that the people in Rome were so alarmed on this occasion, that they expected an immediate visit from Hannibal ; and therefore not only posted great numbers of dartmen on the ramparts to defend them, but likewise armed even the old men with the weapons taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their temples. Hannibal, however, did not advance to Rome, but moved towards the territory of Adria, taking his route through Umbria and Picenum. As he plundered the country through which he marched, upon his arrival in the territory of Adria, he was loaded with booty. Spoletum he attacked in his march ; but was repulsed with loss. From thence approaching the frontiers of Apulia, he ravaged the adjacent territories, the country of the Marsi, Marrucini, Pejigni, together with the districts of Arpi and Luceria. The consul Cn. Servilius did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few slight skirmishes with the Gauls, and reduced an inconsiderable town. However, he thought proper to move towards Rome, to cover that capital from any attempts of the Carthaginians. Polybius tells us, that Hannibal treated the allies of the Romans with the utmost cruelty in this expedition.

Maherbal
routes Cen-
tenius.

Hannibal
arms his
soldiers
after the
Roman
manner:

The Carthaginian army at this time was very sickly, being troubled with a-scorbutic disorder, called by the Greeks limopsoros. This seemed owing to the unwholesome encampments they had been obliged to make, and their march through so many morasses. As both the horses and men were infected with this distemper, Hannibal found it absolutely necessary to repose his troops in the territory of Adria, which was a most pleasant and fruitful country. In his various engagements with the Romans, he had taken a great number of their weapons, with which he now armed his men after the Roman manner. Being now likewise master of that part of the country bordering on the sea, he found means to send an express to Carthage, with the news of the glorious progress of his arms. The Carthaginians received these tidings with the most joyful acclamations, at the same time coming to a resolution to reinforce their armies both, in Italy and Spain, with a proper number of troops ^w.

and
marches
into Cam-
pania.

Hannibal, having refreshed his army, and over-run the territory of the Ferentani, Daunii, Messapii, and the whole province of Apulia, encamped near Ibonium. In the meantime Fabius, for his singular virtue and abilities surnamed Maximus, was elected dictator at Rome, and invested with the absolute command of the Roman army. Fabius ordered the consul Servilius to watch the motions of the Carthaginians by sea, whilst he, with the legions, and his general of horse, advanced to Ægeæ, to have an eye upon Hannibal. The subtle Carthaginian made a great variety of movements, and had recourse to an infinity of stratagems, in order to draw the Roman general to a battle; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Hannibal therefore, having before ravaged all the country bordering on the Adriatic, crossed the Apennines, and entered Samnium, where he likewise committed great devastations. He plundered the territory of Beneventum, took the strong city of Venusia, and besieged Telesia, a town at the foot of the Apennines. Fabius still kept pace with him, though he did not think proper to approach the Carthaginians nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. Hannibal, being convinced, that a state of inaction must prove fatal, in order to draw Fabius to a battle, marched his army into Campania, by the advice of some of the Italian prisoners he had dismissed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Then he detached Maherbal, with

^w Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 25. Vide & Flor. Corn. Nep. Aur. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. &c; ubi sup. Frontin. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 5. ex. 24.

a body

a body of horse, to plunder the territory of Falernum. That general, penetrating as far as the waters of Sinuessa, destroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword. However, the Campanians continued firm in their obedience to the Romans. Hannibal afterwards, encamping upon the *Vulturnus*, ravaged the whole province in a most dreadful manner, Fabius not offering to stir, though he beheld these devastations from the top of mount Massicus, where he had entrenched himself to observe the motions of the Carthaginian army. This inaction greatly incensed both the Roman troops, and his general of horse, against him.

All methods had now been tried in vain by Hannibal to bring Fabius to a battle. He had at first advanced to his very intrenchments at *Aegæ*, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having lost the valour of their ancestors; he had endeavoured to rouse him by frequent removals from place to place, by pillaging the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmost precipitation, and at another stop short in some remote valley, to see whether he could not rush out, and surprise him in the plain. But, notwithstanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and feints, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his first resolution, and thereby gave the crafty Carthaginian to understand, that the Romans, instructed by their defeats, had at last made choice of a general capable of opposing Hannibal.

As Campania was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the subsistence of an army, Hannibal began to think of decamping. Besides, he had no intention to consume idly the provisions he had amassed for the winter-season, nor lose the rich spoils obtained in the provinces he had ravaged. He therefore began his march from Campania towards the decline of summer, and pursued it for some time with great expedition.

It being natural to suppose, that Hannibal would return the same way he came; and Fabius being apprised of his intent, by his spies, the Roman general ordered a detachment of four thousand men to advance, and possess themselves of the pass on mount Eribanus, exhorting them to behave with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the Carthaginians should offer. That he might the more effectually annoy Hannibal in his march, he threw another body of troops into Casilinum, a small town situated on the

*He cannot
bring Fa-
bius to a.
battle.*

Vulturinus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua, and at the same time took post with the main body of his army on mount Callicula. From thence he sent a party of four hundred horse, under the command of L. Hostilius Mancinus, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the first news of their approach. Mancinus, disregarding his orders, skirmished with several straggling parties of Numidians, who, retiring before him, drew him by degrees nearer the Carthaginian camp. Carthalo, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, observing this rash conduct, pursued him, at the head of a body of horse, five miles; and at last coming up, cut him off, with the greatest part of his men. The rest fled to Cales, from whence they made their escape to Fabius, bringing him the melancholy news of the disaster that had befallen the detachment^y.

which he effects by a stratagem. Hannibal, with his forces, soon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped: but here he found himself involved in great difficulties, being pent up in such a manner, by the Romans who had seized upon Casilinum and Callicula, that it seemed impossible for him to escape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice against him, and that he had fallen into much the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the lake Thrasymenus. Fabius, in the mean time, perceiving he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper dispositions for an attack next morning. At this critical conjuncture, Hannibal, by the assistance of two thousand wild oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven with great violence, in the dead of the night, to the top of the hills where the Romans lay encamped, found means to gain the pass, which opened a way to Allifæ. We are told, that, before he communicated this stratagem to his general officers, he massacred five thousand Italian prisoners, to prevent its being discovered by their means, as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his design should miscarry. By this singular contrivance, Hannibal eluded the efforts of Fabius, and preserved both himself and his army, when they were upon the very brink of destruction. For the particulars of this stratagem we must refer our readers to the Roman history^z.

His motions after-wards. At break of day there was a smart action on the top of the hill: for the Romans had found means to cut off some of Hannibal's light-armed troops from the rest of the army, and

^y Polyb. Liv. Appian. ubi supra. ^z Plut. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 26. Front. Strat. lib. i. cap. 5; ex. 28. attacked

attacked them with incredible fury. He therefore sent a detachment of Spaniards, who were accustomed to ascend hills, and stand firm on craggy precipices, to sustain them. Accordingly the Spaniards charged the Romans with so much bravery, that they killed a thousand upon the spot, and covered the retreat of their companions in such a manner, that scarce a man was lost on this occasion ^a.

Then he made a motion, as though he intended to pass through Samnium to Rome; but turning about, he advanced to the territory of the Peligni, and pillaged all the country through which he moved. From thence he returned into Apulia, and taking the town of Gerunum by assault, put all the inhabitants to the sword. He made granaries of the houses, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a retrenchment. He then sent two-thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile. In the mean time Fabius, being ordered to Rome, left the command of the army to Minucius, his general of horse, with orders to observe the motions of Hannibal at a proper distance; but by no means to engage him.

Minucius, being of a contrary disposition to Fabius, resolved not to keep in the path which that general had prescribed for him. Being informed that the greatest part of the Carthaginian army was dispersed over the territory of Gerunum, in order to forage, and that Hannibal himself lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took possession of an eminence called Calela, in the neighbourhood of Larinum, not far from Hannibal's camp. The Carthaginian receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, recalled part of his reapers, and gained an ascent about two miles from Gerunum, imagining that this post would enable him to secure the others from insult. Next night he detached two thousand foot to seize upon a rising-ground close by the Roman camp; a purpose which they effected without opposition: but, next morning, Minucius commanded a stronger body of troops to dislodge them; which, after a brisk action, they performed, putting many to the sword, and dispersing the rest. Animated by this first instance of success, Minucius attacked the Carthaginian foragers, cut a great number to pieces, and, in a encounter, had the advantage over Hannibal. These particulars being known at Rome, greatly sunk the credit of Fabius, and occasioned a general condemnation of his conduct. The people and senate of Rome, however, did not

Hannibal
encamps at
Gerunum.

Minucius
gains some
slight ad-
vantages
over Han-
nibal.

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take the command of the army absolutely from him; but gave Minucius an equal authority with the dictator. After Fabius's return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each might have his separate corps; Fabius, on account of his superior skill in the military art, and that he might be able to preserve at least one part of the army, not being disposed to give his consent to an alternate command.^b

Fabius prevents Hannibal from cutting off his colleague,

Nothing could be more agreeable to Hannibal than to hear of the disgrace of Fabius, whose measures he so much dreaded. He flattered himself, that the dissension between the two commanders, and the rashness of Minucius, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embarrassing the Roman affairs more than ever. He immediately resolved to lay a snare for Minucius. Fabius encamped on the hills, after his usual manner; and Minucius in the plain, near the Carthaginians. Hannibal, in the mean time, observing a small rising-ground between him and Minucius, by which either might incommodate the other, formed a design to make himself master of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action: to effect which, he laid an ambuscade of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, divided into parties of about two hundred men each. He then sent a detachment to take possession of that post; which Minucius endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambuscade, and would have been cut off with all his troops, if Fabius had not rushed from the hills, like a torrent, to his assistance in the critical moment, and forced Hannibal to retire. Hannibal, after this action, fortified his camp, and continued in a state of inaction till the following campaign.^c

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians in Spain.

In the mean time Asdrubal reinforced the squadron his brother had left him with ten gallies; and gave the command of it to Hamilcar, an officer of merit. Hamilcar, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, with forty gallies, intending to coast along, till he came to the mouth of the Iberus, where Asdrubal was to meet him at the head of the land-forces, that they might, in concert, begin the operations of the campaign. Scipio, receiving intelligence of their design, and at the same time hearing that Asdrubal was already in motion, immediately fitted out a fleet of five-and-thirty sail, putting the flower of his land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of the Iberus, he dispatched

^b Vél. Max. lib. iii. cap. 8. ^c Ann. ubi supra. Polyæn. Strat. lib. viii. Frontin. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 5. ex. 22. Flor. lib. ii. Corn. Nep. & Aur. Viæt. Eutrop. ubi supra.

two Massilian vessels to reconnoitre the enemy, who brought him advice, that their squadron of gallies actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the river; upon which he made the necessary dispositions to attack it. Asdrubal, receiving timely notice of his design, drew up his army in order of battle on the shore, to assist, or at least to animate, his naval forces: but they were not able to withstand the efforts of the Romans, who, after a short dispute, entirely defeated them, forced the vessels on shore, killed great numbers of the seamen and marines, and carried off twenty-five gallies. From this time, the Carthaginian affairs began to wear an un promising aspect in Spain^d.

The Carthaginians, receiving intelligence of this blow, And gain several other advantages over them in Spain and Africa equipped another fleet of seventy sail with the utmost expedition, knowing of what consequence it was to be masters of the sea. With this, according to Polybius, they touched at one of the ports of Sardinia, and proceeded from thence to Pisa; where the admiral proposed to have a conference with Hannibal: but Servilius, who commanded a Roman squadron of a hundred and twenty gallies, prevented that intercourse, the Carthaginians steering off upon his approach, and returned to Carthage. Servilius, for some time, gave them chase; but finding himself not able to come up with them, he discontinued the pursuit, and steered for Cercina, a small island on the coast of Regio Syrtica; which he laid under contribution. Hence he sailed to Cosyrus, another little island, near Carthage; which he easily subdued, and left a garrison in the town. He afterwards set sail for Sicily, and arrived with his squadron in the harbour of Lilybaeum^e.

In the mean time Scipio improved his late naval victory. He first advanced to Honosca, which he closely besieged both by sea and land, took it by storm, and levelled it with the ground. From thence he proceeded to New Carthage, laid waste the adjacent territory, and set fire to the suburbs of that city. Loaded with spoil, he departed for Longuntica, where he found a vast quantity of spartum, a shrub much used in navigating ships, amassed by Asdrubal, which he either carried off or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the island Ebusus, now Yvica, and pillaged the open country; but could not reduce the town. However, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of the Balearic islands. After these exploits, Livy tells us, a hundred and

The conse quences of the defeat in Spain.

^d Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 95. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 19, 21, 22. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 1. ^e Polyb. & Liv. ubi supra.

twenty different cantons of Spaniards submitted to the Romans, who penetrated as far as the Saltus Castulonensis, Asdrubal retiring before them into Lusitania, and those parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean.

Asdrubal reduced to great difficulties.

Whilst the Carthaginian affairs were in such a melancholy situation in Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis, two persons of distinction amongst the Ilergetes, advanced to the frontiers of the allies of Rome, and ravaged them. Scipio, being apprised of this insult, detached a body of three thousand Romans, with some Spanish auxiliaries, to attack them; which they did so effectually, that they drove them back with great loss. Upon this defeat they applied to Asdrubal for assistance, who marched with all his forces to support them. Scipio, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the Celtiberian princes in the Roman interest to assemble their forces, and fall upon the Carthaginians. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the Carthaginian territories with a powerful army, took three fortresses by assault, and gave Asdrubal two considerable overthrows, killing above fifteen thousand men, and taking four thousand prisoners. Nothing farther material happened in Spain this campaign, except that the two Scipios passed the Iberus, and penetrated into the Carthaginian dominions as far as the gates of Saguntum, a particular account of which has been already given.

Hannibal in great distress.

To return to the armies in Italy: Hannibal remained quiet in his winter-quarters, till the following spring, and, before the season for action arrived, had the happiness to hear of Fabius's being recalled to Rome, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to six months. The consuls, Cn. Servilius Geminus, and M. Attilius Regulus, who succeeded him, regulated their conduct in all things according to the model Fabius had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off several parties of Hannibal's foragers, but declined a general action, though he practised all the art and cunning he was master of to draw them to a battle. Hannibal therefore found himself so distressed for want of provisions, that he had once thoughts of retiring into Gaul; but was diverted from his design by a suspicion, that such a retreat would appear so much like a flight, that it might be an inducement to his allies to desert him. His safety now seemed entirely to depend upon the measures the two new consuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Æmilius Paulus, should pursue. If they steadily adhered to Fabius's plan of operations, Hannibal must be irrecoverably lost; but, by a departure from it, they would give him an

an opportunity of recovering his superiority. His hopes were greatly raised, when he received intelligence from his spies, that Varro, in disposition and genius, nearly resembled Sempronius, Flaminius, and Minucius; that there was a total want of harmony betwixt him and his colleague Paulus; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the senate, who had a very indifferent opinion of his capacity. Notwithstanding the Roman army this year consisted of eight legions, besides the troops of their allies, making about eighty-six thousand effective men, he was far from desponding, especially as he believed that, however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops, being new levies, would not be capable of encountering his veterans. The event justified the sentiments he entertained, as we shall soon perceive^c.

Hannibal had not only learned the true character of Varro, but likewise discovered his grand design. He had received advice, that this consul, before he left Rome, declared in public, that he would attack the enemy the very first opportunity, and terminate the war; adding, that it would never be at an end, so long as men of Fabius's complexion should be at the head of the Roman armies. He had not been long in the Roman camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of Carthaginians, killing seventeen hundred men upon the spot^d; an action which greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. Hannibal considered this loss as a real advantage, not doubting that it would urge him to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions at Gerunium, that he found it impossible to subsist ten days longer; and the Spaniards already meditated a desertion, which must have proved fatal to him; but his good fortune at this crisis interposed, and threw in his way an antagonist who extricated him from the difficulties in which he was involved^e.

After several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a village and castle of Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. Hannibal had taken the castle, which commanded all that part of Apulia, and seized one of the enemy's principal magazines, before the approach of the Roman army. He had likewise taken care to encamp in an open extensive plain, proper for his cavalry, in which the chief strength of his forces consisted. Paulus, considering Hannibal's great superiority in horse,

The Romans defeat a body of Carthaginians.

The Roman and Carthaginian armies meet near Cannæ in Apulia.

^c Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 110—116. Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 40—50. Apian in Hannib. ^d Liv. uti supra.

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wished to draw the Carthaginians to an irregular spot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal share in the action ; but Varro being of another opinion, that salutary design was dropped ; a circumstance which proved the ruin of the Roman army. As soon as the consuls appeared, Hannibal advanced towards them, at the head of his horse, and began an attack with great bravery ; but the Romans, intermixing some of the legionaries with their light-armed troops, sustained the first shock of the enemy with great firmness, and, being supported by the cavalry, repulsed them with considerable loss. This check a little discouraged Hannibal, especially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the charge. After having encouraged his troops with an artful karangue, he commanded them to be ready next morning to enter upon action.

Having already given a particular account of the battle of Cannæ in our history of the Romans, we shall here only mention a few circumstances which contributed to the fortune of the day.

Hannibal's army consisted of ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot ; whereas the Roman cavalry did not exceed six thousand, though in the consular army the infantry amounted to eighty thousand men. The prodigious size and uncouth figures of the Spaniards and Gauls, together with the activity of the former, and fierceness of the latter, greatly contributed towards throwing the Romans into confusion. The body of Numidians that attacked the Roman rear, and the accident which attended Paulus's wound, were also of singular service to Hannibal on that auspicious day. The confidence the Carthaginian troops reposed in their general, whom they esteemed as invincible, likewise animated them to a prodigious degree, and consequently excited them to behave with uncommon resolution. Hannibal did his utmost to inspire them with a contempt of the Romans, on all occasions ; which had the desired effect. We are told that when Mago, whom he had sent to view the enemy, assured him, that the Romans were extremely numerous, he replied, "As numerous as they are, I give thee my word, brother, thou canst not find one amongst them whose name is Mago." And having thus said, he burst out into laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him. This indication of mirth induced the soldiers to believe, that he thought himself sure of victory, and of course so raised their spirits, that nothing could resist them. The arming his Africans in the Roman manner was also a wise expedient devised by Hannibal, as it enabled those

uses of
a defeat
a Romans
reived
etc.

those to attack and resist the Romans in their own way. These, with other concurring causes of the defeat at Cannæ, might be expatiated upon: but we shall leave many things to the reflection of the reader, whom we refer to the detail formerly given of this battle.

The immediate consequence of this victory, as Hannibal had foreseen, was the submission of that part of Italy called the Old Province, Magna Græcia, Tarentum, Arpi, and part of the territory of Capua. The neighbouring provinces likewise discovered an inclination to throw off the Roman yoke; but wished to see whether Hannibal was in a condition to protect them, before they declared themselves. All the Carthaginian officers, except Maherbal, advised Hannibal to allow his troops some repose after the great fatigues and hard service they had lately undergone: but Maherbal, on the contrary, pressed him to march directly to Rome at the head of his horse, promising him that, within five days, they should sup in the Capitol. Hannibal answered, "That he deserved commendation for the ardour he shewed; but that an affair of such importance required mature deliberation." To whom Maherbal replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the same person with every shining talent. You know, Hannibal, how to conquer; but not how to improve a victory." Livy seems to adopt Maherbal's notion, and thinks Hannibal guilty of a capital error on this occasion; but others, as we have elsewhere remarked, entertained different sentiments of this point of that renowned general's conduct: for which, besides those already mentioned, they assign the following reasons: 1. Hannibal was one of the most consummate generals antiquity ever produced; a great military genius; a person of amazing prudence, forecast, and penetration, as the whole series of his actions clearly demonstrates. It is therefore highly improbable that, in this single instance, he should either have failed to make choice of the best expedients, or been backward to put his designs in execution. 2. They are disposed to judge favourably of him from the silence of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this famous battle, says, that the Carthaginians believed they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault: but he gives us no room to suppose, that such a project was feasible, nor that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That as his infantry, before the battle of Cannæ, did not amount to above forty thousand men, he had not strength sufficient to undertake the

Hannibal's
motions
after his
victory at
Cannæ.

the siege of Rome, especially as that city was very populous, strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison of two legions. This reason will appear in a stronger light, if we consider, that his infantry must have been considerably weakened by the loss he sustained in the action at Cannæ, which amounted, on their part only, to five thousand five hundred men. 4. Hannibal was destitute of battering engines, ammunition, and every necessary for carrying on a siege; and consequently, on this account, as well as the weakness of his troops, he must have been incapable of attacking in form so large a city as Rome. In proof of what is advanced, it may be observed that, for want of these necessaries, even after his victory at the lake Thrasymenus, he miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum, a town of no great strength; and, after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of Casilinum, a little inconsiderable city. 5. Not any of the Italian nations had yet declared for him; so that, had he miscarried in the attempt, he must have been utterly ruined. These reasons, with others that might be offered, seem to invalidate the opinion of those who have espoused Maherbal's side of the question^b.

*His ad-
vance-
ment to Ca-
pua;*

When Hannibal had pillaged the Roman camp, he marched into Samnium, being informed that the Hirpini, and other neighbouring nations, were disposed to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He first advanced to Compsa, which opened its gates, and admitted a Carthaginian garrison. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immense plunder he had amassed: then ordering his brother Mago, with a body of troops destined for that purpose, to possess himself of all the fortresses of that country, he moved into Campania, the most delicious province of Italy. The humanity with which Hannibal had constantly treated the Italian prisoners, as well as the fame of the complete victory lately obtained, wrought so favourably upon the Lucani, Brutii, and Apulians, that they expressed an eager desire of being taken under his protection; even the Campanians, a nation more obliged to Rome than any in Italy, except the Latins, being much affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of Hannibal, discovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends. Of which disposition the Carthaginian general receiving intelligence, he directed his march towards Capua, not doubting but that, by means of the popular faction

^b Aul. Gel. in Noct. Attic. lib. x. cap. 24. Cat. in Origin. Cæl. His. lib. ii. Plut. in Fab. Macrob. Gætun. lib. i. cap. 4.

which

which then prevailed, he should easily reduce that important place¹.

Some of the leading men in Capua had offered to deliver the city into Hannibal's hands immediately after the battle of the lake Thrasymenus. This prospect induced that general to march his army to their frontiers, instead of advancing to Rome, as some think he might have done; though at that time he was so narrowly watched by Fabius, that his partisans in Capua could not find an opportunity of executing the design they had formed: but now, by the assistance and intreaties of Pacuvius Catavins, an ambitious nobleman, who had the populace at his devotion, he possessed himself of the city. However, some imagine that this step was so far from being advantageous to him, that it contributed to his ruin. Many, on the other hand, believe that the disappointment which the Carthaginian general met with in the execution of his grand design, was owing to the intrigues of Hanno's faction, and not to his residence at Capua.

Whilst Hannibal was pushing on the war in Italy with the utmost vigour, the state of Carthage sent two fleets to the coasts of Sicily. One of these ravaged the maritime part of Hiero's territories, because that prince was in alliance with Rome, whilst the other stood off to the islands Aegades, in order to observe the motions of the Romans. The admiral of this squadron had orders to attack Lilybæum both by sea and land, as soon as the Romans advanced to the relief of king Hiero; of which order T. Otacilius, the proprætor, being apprised, he dispatched an express to Rome for a speedy reinforcement of ships: but the senate, considering the deplorable condition of the republic, did not think proper to comply with his request. He therefore found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive, lest he should expose the Roman dominions in Sicily to invasion.

Notwithstanding the implacable hatred Hannibal bore the Romans, he dispatched Carthalo to Rome, to treat with the senate about a redemption of the prisoners taken in the battle of Cannæ. Though the sum demanded for these prisoners was far from being exorbitant, the conscript fathers refused the payment of it. The reasons alleged for this refusal by the Romans has already been given; but the true one seems to have been the extreme poverty of the Roman state at the present period. Hannibal, upon Carthalo's return, sent all the Roman prisoners of distinction to

¹ Livy & Polyb. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. 12. cap. 2.

Carthage,

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Carthage, and treated the others in the manner related in a former part of this work ^k (O).

The dif-
ficulties
Mago to
Carthage
with an
account of
his great
success.

Soon after Capua had submitted, many cities of the Brutii opened their gates to Hannibal, who ordered his brother Mago to take possession of them. Mago was then dispatched to Carthage, with the important news of the great victory obtained at Cannæ, and its happy consequences. Upon his arrival, he acquainted the senate that Hannibal had defeated six Roman generals, four of whom were consuls, one dictator, and the other general of the horse to the dictator; that he had engaged six confular armies, killed two consuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the field, with scarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horse, who was of equal power with the consuls; that the dictator was esteemed the only general fit to command an army, merely because he had not had the courage to engage Hannibal. As a demonstrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to some authors, three bushels and a half of rings of Roman knights and senators. He likewise subjoined, that Capua, a city which was not only the metropolis of Campania, but, since the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, of Italy itself, had submitted to Hannibal. For such unparalleled success he moved, that thanks should be returned to the immortal gods; and that an immediate reinforcement should be sent to Hannibal, who being in the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, especially as his troops must have greatly suffered in their various engagements with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people were filled with joy on this happy occasion. However Hanno, with all his adherents,

^k Polyb. lib. vi. sub fin. Liv. ubi sup. cap. 58—61. Appian. in Hannib. p. 570. edit. Tollii, Amst. 1670. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 2.

(O). Appian and Zonaras intimate, that Hannibal sold some of the Roman captives for slaves, and drew a vast number of the meaner sort, with whose bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a passage for his troops: but this last instance of cruelty seems highly improbable, especially considering the partiality of the historians from whom it comes, and that it is passed over in si-

lence by Polybius. That excellent author, amongst other things, observes, that the senate of Rome imagined, that a compunction with Hannibal's proposal would look like a tacit acknowledgement of his great superiority, and therefore declined closing with it. Livy affirms, that many of the Roman prisoners were bought of Hannibal by the Greeks, which may possibly be true.

opposed the continuation of the war, and consequently voted against sending Hannibal any succours; but the majority of the senate considering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy, orders were given to furnish the army in Italy with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample supply of money and provisions. A body of four thousand Numidians, with forty elephants, was first destined for that country; a large detachment of Spanish forces was appointed to follow the Numidians; and, that these last troops might be ready in time, Mago departed immediately for Spain, to raise twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Carthaginians proposed to recruit, with these new levies, not only Hannibal's army, but that likewise which acted it Spain¹.

¹ Liv. ubi sup. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 50. Hannib. apud Lucian. in Dial. Eutrop. Zonar. & Oros. ubi supra.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

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